



A HISTORY OF ITALIAN PAINTING

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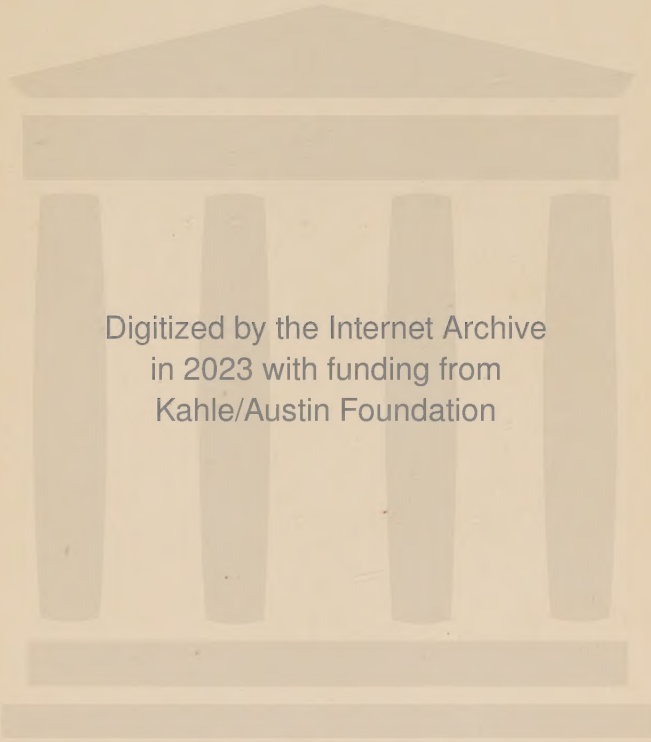


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OLIVER S. TONKS



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ITALIAN PAINTING

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RAPHAEL: "MADONNA DEL GRAN DUCA"

A HISTORY OF ITALIAN PAINTING

BY

OLIVER S. TONKS, PH.D.

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ILLUSTRATED

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PREFACE

This book has been written to meet the needs of those who are beginning the study of Italian painting. These needs are very definite: clarity, continuity of thought, and the omission of all material that, although interesting to advanced students, is bound to be confusing to beginners.

Long experience as a teacher of the history and criticism of Italian painting has made it clear to me that such extended, although scholarly, treatments as Crowe and Cavalcaselle's monumental *History of Painting in Italy* are of little value to one who is approaching the subject for the first time. In works of this kind it is impossible to see the forest for the trees. Their method of presentation itself tends to discourage the beginner.

Nor are the average handbooks much better. Some of them in spite of their condensed form, contain as many artists and schools as would appropriately come up for discussion in much larger books. The writers appear to be haunted by the fear that if anything is omitted they will be charged with lack of scholarship. The result is that works of this type are frequently little better than somewhat full *catalogues raisonnés* of artists and their works. Because of their unavoidable condensation they cannot give a coherent, consecutive statement.

Other short histories fail of completeness through an obvious interest in special parts of the field while monographs, specifically concerned with this or that artist, obviously preclude any comprehensive treatment of the subject.

It is hoped that this book has met these various difficulties. It recognizes the futility of placing an extended discussion in the hands of beginners. For that reason all material not essential to coherent presentation has been ruthlessly omitted. At-

PREFACE

tention has been centered on the three great schools of painting—Florentine, Umbrian, and Venetian, with preliminary consideration of the schools of Rome and Siena.

Great care has been taken to emphasize the characteristics of the individual artist, his place in his school, his sources of inspiration, and the directions in which his own influence extended. The interrelations of the various schools have been stressed, and the indebtedness that they mutually incurred has been pointed out.

The book should prove useful to students in the higher schools as well as in the colleges, and, by the same token, it should be helpful to those of the general public who are adventuring for the first time into the field of Italian painting.

O. S. T.

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CHAPTER I

The First Twelve Centuries

THE rise of the Christian faith, which in a few centuries was destined to alter the thought of Italy so much, did not immediately affect the technique of painting. Only the subject matter changed. So, were we fortunate enough to possess pagan or secular works from the early Christian days, we should see in them simply a normal continuation of the classic art which now unhappily is known to us almost solely from Pompeii. Because of this lack we are dependent upon the productions of the early Christian craftsmen.

At the beginning of our era Roman art had already passed far into its decline. Now and then memories of earlier space painting and of three dimensional form remain, but on the whole art became continually feebler as century followed century. When the record of Roman painting was practically closed by the burying of Pompeii, it carried the marks of evident decadence.

It is no wonder then that the narrative of early Italian painting continues the tale of this decline. Little else could be expected since we are tracing its history not in the houses of the rich or even well-to-do, but in the gloomy, underground burial places. There we should never expect to find the hand of a distinguished artist,

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not only because most of the early Christians were too poor to pay for genius, but also because the religious content of these pictures was infinitely more important than their beauty.

The story of the earliest Christian fresco is depressing enough. Working in the darkened passages of the cata-



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DETAIL OF VAULT MOSAIC, STA. COSTANZA, ROME

combs, compelled thereby to force their colors, the painters quickly lost whatever remembrance they may ever have had of the better Roman traditions. Their drawing became more and more intuitive, and their limited palette ever harsher, as if the men were consciously fighting against the baffling obscurity of the place in which they worked.

THE FIRST TWELVE CENTURIES

They tried for the serene dignity of earlier, classical heads, but, lacking knowledge of form and inexpert in drawing, they succeeded only in widening the eyes into a haggard stare. From the fourth century on there is little to record except the pathetic efforts of an embarrassed craft to represent natural form without the slightest consciousness of obligation to study nature. By the seventh century this subterranean art had reached practically its ultimate degradation.

Complete disaster must soon have followed had pictorial presentation remained solely in the hands of these craftsmen. Fortunately the new faith had turned enthusiastically to the erection of great churches and these required a stately, decorative dress beyond the power of the catacomb frescane. So the mosaist was called upon, and what his art lacked in flexibility it made up for in the splendor of glorious blue or shimmering gold background.

Like his brother, the catacomb painter, the mosaist retains in his earlier work marked classical characteristics. This any one may see who enters Sta. Costanza or Sta. Maria Antiqua in Rome. Even as late as the close of the fourth century, when catacomb painting was nearly at its worst, the mosaists, Ilicius, Leopardus and Maximus, wrought in the apse of Sta. Pudenziana with a serene, classical dignity.

In 410 Alaric sacked Rome and for many years art declined in the Holy City. Ravenna now becomes the chief source of information.

Here for a while the classical tradition lived on. But it was inevitable in a city so thoroughly eastern as this that the antique manner should be crowded by the in-

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coming Byzantine. Within a century's span the Roman "Good Shepherd" of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia had as somewhat distant neighbors in San Apollinare figures rigidly splendid in the rich costume of Byzantium. Roughly speaking, all this had happened by the first quarter of the sixth century.



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"THE GOOD SHEPHERD," MOSAIC, MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA
PLACIDIA, RAVENNA

After Rome revived from Alaric's visit, and art once more began to flourish there, classicism made a somewhat more prolonged resistance because the artists were surrounded by so many ancient monuments that could serve as models. But in spite of this the Byzantine style continued more and more emphatically to assert its ascendancy. Outside Rome it had practically its own way.

This growth of the eastern style in Italy was due to that reaction in the Orient against the use of figures in

THE FIRST TWELVE CENTURIES

religious art which finally, in 726, expressed itself in the iconoclastic edict of Leo the Isaurian. The result of this law was the disappearance of pictorial art in the East and the flight of Greek artists to Italy. So great was this migration that by the middle of the eighth century Byzantine art, even in Rome, was absolutely trium-



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FRIEZE OF MARTYRS, MOSAIC, S. APOLLINARE NUOVO,
RAVENNA

phant. The well-known "Crucifixion" in the apse of Sta. Maria Antiqua (*c.* 750) shows how completely the classic freedom of the early eighth century had yielded to Byzantine formalism.

Art continued to decline through the eighth into the ninth century. About the middle of the latter a revivifying force, apparently from northern Europe, gave to

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certain works a clumsy vivacity. This searching for realistic effects was probably due to the bracing stimulus of the Carolingian revival. Unfortunately this fresh



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"THE CRUCIFIXION," STA. MARIA
ANTIQUA, ROME

naturalism was not maintained. Both mosaic and fresco slipped steadily into impotence.

Another similar improvement at the close of the eleventh century seems to have been the reflex of the influence of the German school which, under the Ottonian dynasty, had been influential in Rome from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century.

About this time (1187) appears an interesting artist,

THE FIRST TWELVE CENTURIES

Alberto Sotio, who painted a crucifixion now in the Cathedral of Spoleto. He seems to have been a member of a school which developed in the latter city and to have had the same vivacity just noted in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Occasionally, as in Sicily, the Byzantine style produced notable works. On the whole it grew worse and worse while the new Romanesque, or northern, manner became more and more effective.

CHAPTER II

The Thirteenth Century: Up to Giotto

The Forerunners

THIS vital, northern point of view, which found life so interesting, expressed itself perfectly in the work of Buonamicus, in that of a nameless artist who did a portrait of St. Francis at Subiaco, and in the art of Conxolus. It made the first see things in a fresh way, it showed the second the essentials of sympathetic portraiture and gave the third such a grasp of the meaning of true narrative that it would be easy to think of him as contributing to the style of Cavallini and Giotto.

Cavallini

These three men are in fact the forerunners of Cavallini, the first conspicuous painter of the Roman school and also one of the greatest of the early painters of the Renaissance. Where others had somewhat clumsily told their tales with a kind of primitive vigor this serene painter seems intuitively to have recognized and appropriated as his own the majesty of the classical period. With a knowledge of form hardly inferior to that of his younger contemporary, Giotto, he rendered his forms superbly massive by the use of a most subtle light and shade. While those painters particularly affected by the

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: UP TO GIOTTO

northern, or Romanesque, tradition gave to their faces a wild vigor, Cavallini achieved a beauty reminiscent of



Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Rome

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PIETRO CAVALLINI: "ADORATION OF THE MAGI," MOSAIC

the best classic tradition. He escaped the stylized manner of Byzantine art.

It is unfortunate that we know so little of his life. But it seems to have run from about 1250 to the neighborhood of 1325. The earliest of his unquestioned works is the noted series of mosaics in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. Two years later he passed from mosaic to fresco in Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere.

There is every reason to suppose that a painter as remarkable as Cavallini would be invited to participate in the decoration of the famous Franciscan basilica at

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Assisi. In fact, his hand seems clearly evident in several pictures in the nave of the Upper Church. The two representing the deception of Isaac are, almost beyond



Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome

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PIETRO CAVALLINI: "APOSTLES"

a shadow of doubt, by the painter himself. Others were possibly done by assistants from his drawings. Of the two, the "Deception of Abraham" shows better his conspicuous ability.

With Cavallini the Roman school ceases to be a factor in the development of Italian painting, doubtless due in a large measure to the removal of the Papal residence to Avignon. Its chief importance lies in having preserved during the darkest hours a remembrance of the

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: UP TO GIOTTO

better traditions of classic times. Perhaps not its least glory is that it contributed something to the development of Giotto's art. Whether Giotto learned from



Academy, Siena

Anderson

GUIDO DA SIENA: "MADONNA AND CHILD"

Cavallini or his school at Rome or Assisi we are not able to say.

The Sienese School: Guido da Siena

Meanwhile at Siena artists had been long at work. Owing to the city's affiliation with Byzantine centers in southern Italy and even with Byzantium itself, her crafts-

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men in the later thirteenth century show a decidedly oriental style. This seems to be due to the study of Eastern miniatures.

For a large part of the century the control of the artistic destinies of the city lay in the hands of Guido da Siena and those who modeled their style upon his. The former's figures have a certain reserve which may derive from Byzantine formalism. Certainly his gold-shot garments show that he was familiar with that school. Yet his insistence upon solid proportions and his tendency to make his heads too large point to a knowledge of the Romanesque tradition which was much in evidence in Siena in the early years of the thirteenth century. By and large he leans much more to the northern style than the eastern and possibly may have helped to prevent Byzantinism from playing much of a part in Siennese art until the second half of the century.

Duccio

Not until we come to Duccio di Buoninsegna do we find that happy combination of refined Byzantine technique and Gothic graciousness which is the distinctive charm of Siennese art. To understand Duccio and the school to which he belonged we must remember that the latter grew out of the Byzantine with almost no Roman contamination.

Duccio is at his best in his great "Majesty" which was finished June 9, 1311, and carried in festal procession from his shop to the high altar of the Cathedral at Siena. It now hangs in the Opera del Duomo, a complete revelation of his position in Siennese art. It tells how Byzan-



Opera del Duomo, Siena

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DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA: "MAJESTY"

tinism struggled in him with that new spirit of the Renaissance which drew its inspiration from the observation of life. On the front of the picture his Byzantine training forced him to follow the traditional disposition of figures and to preserve in many instances even the facial charac-



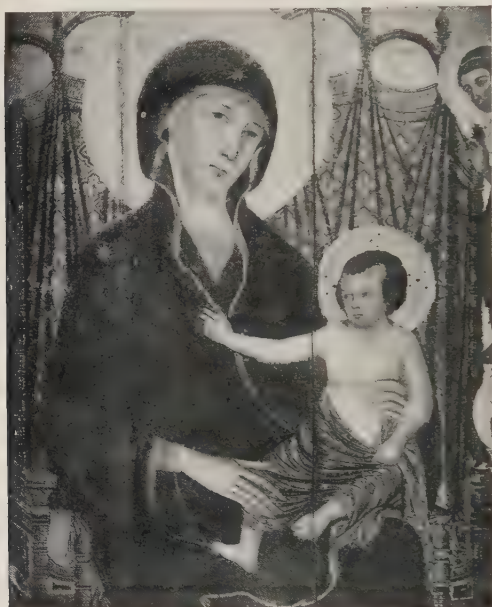
Opera del Duomo, Siena

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DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA: SCENES FROM BACK
OF "MAJESTY"

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teristics of that oriental school. At the same time his humanity so asserted itself that the hieratic awesomeness of Byzantine art is tempered by an appealing, pensive sweetness absolutely peculiar to Duccio and new in Italian art.



Sta. Maria Novella, Florence

Anderson

DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA: "RUCCELLAI
MADONNA"

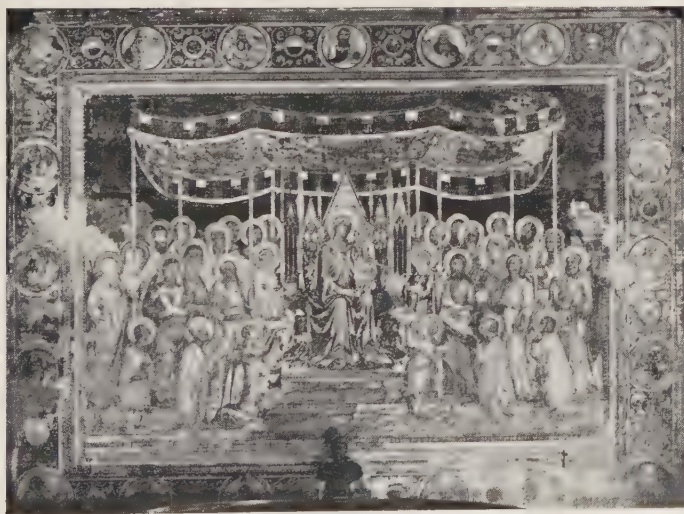
On the reverse of the altarpiece the painter felt less cramped by custom. Not that he is there always able to shake off the rigid mannerisms of Byzantinism. But in many of the little narrative panels, which deal with the life of Christ, he is powerfully dramatic and gifted in story telling.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: UP TO GIOTTO

Critics will probably never agree as to whether Duccio painted the "Ruccellai Madonna." At all events in 1285 he signed a contract with the confraternity of St. Mary the Virgin in Florence to make them a picture and there is much reason to suppose the "Ruccellai Madonna" may be it. Whether it is his or a Florentine work must be a matter of individual opinion. But the fact that the admirers of Cimabue are anxious to have the painting the latter's in itself puts Duccio, if the picture is really his, on a par with the great Florentine.

Simone Martini

Duccio's charm reached its perfection in the grace of his great follower and possible pupil, Simone Martini,



Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

Alinari

SIMONE MARTINI: "MAJESTY"

A HISTORY OF ITALIAN PAINTING

who was born in Siena about 1284. Although he retains at times some of Duccio's features, for example, in certain passages of his frescoed "Majesty" in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, at the same time he adds a Gothic charm which shows that he was well on his way toward that essentially refined, mystical manner so marked in



Uffizi, Florence

Anderson

SIMONE MARTINI AND LIPPO MEMMI:
"ANNUNCIATION"

later Sienese art. This quality was subsequently intensified in Simone by a visit to Naples whither he went, about 1317, to work for the French house of Anjou. It is just that French Gothic tenderness and refinement which divides European mediæval art from the more delicate of the Byzantine works. This lovely spiritual quality

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: UP TO GIOTTO

gives the artist his place in Italian painting. But like the other great painters of the day he could also tell a piquant story or paint a striking portrait.

In 1339 Martini went to Avignon and from then until his death there in 1344 he probably had little effect upon Italian painting. What, however, he had created before he departed for France had an immense amount to do with the spread of the delicately refined and decorative phase of Sienese craft. It is difficult to overestimate his value.

The Lorenzetti

A more robust aspect of Sienese art appears in the work of the Lorenzetti brothers, Pietro and Ambrogio. Pietro, the elder, was born about 1280; he died apparently in 1348 of the plague. When Ambrogio was born we do not know. He, too, seems to have died in 1348.

In Pietro's earlier work Duccio's influence is visible, although the fragility of the elder artist's madonnas is replaced by a fuller stateliness and a tender wistfulness somewhat more severely pensive. This robustness in Pietro made him sympathetic with the dramatic Giovanni Pisano. Living in Siena, it is inconceivable that the painter should not have well known the sculptor's work in the Cathedral.

About 1329 Pietro went to Assisi to do a series of frescoes in the Lower Church. Whether it is in the "Mother and Child," the "Crucifixion," or the "Deposition," he works with a dramatic intensity clearly derived from Giovanni Pisano. He gave definitely to Sienese painting that emotional quality which persisted alongside the exquisite style of Simone. In many ways these paintings



Lower Church, Assisi

Alinari

PIETRO LORENZETTI: "MADONNA AND CHILD"

are the high-water mark in Pietro's career. They preserve the mysticism of Siena while adding something of Giotto's impressive simplicity and a dramatic energy much more intense than is found in either the Florentine school or elsewhere in the Sienese.

Unlike his brother, Ambrogio at first shows no indebtedness to Duccio. If anything, he leans toward Simone Martini. At least the gentle expression of his regularly formed faces gives that impression. His statuesque proportions may be due to residence in Florence where he seems to have worked and where he must have known Giotto's art.

Giotto, however, could not wipe from Ambrogio's mind the aristocracy of type which he had learned from Simone. In fact, his combination of Giottesque composi-



Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

Anderson

AMBROGIO LORENZETTI: "GOOD GOVERNMENT"

tion and concentration of action with Sienese distinction in feature shows how the Florentine and Sienese traditions fused at this time. Possibly the tendency toward dramatic statement just observed may have come from the growing influence of Pietro, whose art from now on seems more and more to have affected the younger brother. It was not long before Ambrogio forswore allegiance to Simone and followed Pietro. Actually it is not too much to say that Ambrogio's art is a development of Pietro's. But his feminine forms have a fuller, more serious beauty. Restraining himself from his brother's somewhat exaggerated statement, he preserves Simone's aristocratic type quite as much as the latter. He could handle the perspective of interiors as well as Pietro and was as able in getting the effect of space in landscape. His composition is better than his brother's.

Ambrogio's greatest work is the series of allegorical frescoes painted in the fourth decade of the fourteenth century on the walls of the Sala della Pace in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. These pictures represent the results of good government and by way of contrast the condition

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of a community tyrannically ruled. The party in office thus seems to have announced its virtues to the citizens of Siena.

“Good Government” is an impressive, if not altogether happy, composition. Most of the individual figures possess great charm while at least two, those of Justice and Siena, have much dignity as well. In Concord and Peace the traditional grace of the Siennese school is glorified. One should note the distinguished portraits among the citizens of Siena.

CHAPTER III

Cimabue

WITH the advent of Duccio's contemporary, Cimabue, Florence takes a dominating position. Dante, who was of his time, says that he had the popular acclaim before Giotto. After the poet's death no critical mention is made of him for over a century, when Ghiberti speaks of him as a painter working in the Byzantine style and cites him as Giotto's teacher. Not until the sixteenth century, some two hundred years after his death, do we hear



Cathedral, Pisa

Alinari

CIMABUE: "CHRIST ENTHRONED"

of extensive lists of his pictures. Among these lists and, one might say, completing them is that of Vasari, the painter and not too reliable art critic, who extravagantly attributes to Cimabue works which now even his strongest defender would not accept. Excluding the much re-



Lower Church, Assisi

Alinari

CIMABUE: "MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. FRANCIS"

stored apse mosaic of 1302 in the Cathedral at Pisa, there is not a single work that can be documented as his.

Nevertheless, critics generally agree that certain pictures are most probably by him. These are the "Madonna and Child with St. Francis" in the Lower Church at Assisi and the "Crucifixion" in the left transept of the Upper Church. There are others less certain, but likely, in the left transept and in the choir.

CIMABUE

Properly speaking, there is but one safe starting point—the mosaic in the apse of the Cathedral at Pisa. Upon this Cimabue worked from the summer of 1301 till January, 1302. Although much restored there are parts practically as they were left by the artist.



Upper Church, Assisi

Alinari

CIMABUE: "CRUCIFIXION"

Such is the St. John which is especially valuable because of its close resemblance to the same saint in the "Crucifixion" in the left transept of the Upper Church at Assisi. If the Pisan mosaic is Cimabue's, the fresco in San Francesco must also be his.

While possibly many of the remaining frescoes in this transept may also be by Cimabue, we are upon much more solid ground in the "Madonna with St. Francis" in the Lower Church. The head of the saint is very like that of the figure at the extreme outer end of the front

row at the right in the "Crucifixion." From the evidence thus gleaned it is fairly easy to add to the list the *Madonnas* of the *Uffizi* and the *Louvre*.

From all this we can fairly estimate the artist's value. Judged by his Florentine work, Cimabue is indebted to Byzantine art, especially as concerns his aged male types, the posture of the madonna and the use of gold for high lights in drapery. The pensive beauty of the angels suggests a knowledge of the Sieneese school.

His dramatic "Crucifixion" at Assisi indicates a knowledge of Giovanni Pisano. The virility of his figures and his interest in personal types may have been due to the same cause. The largeness of his ideas and the grandiose quality of some of his figures came possibly from contact with the Roman school.

Dante, the Florentine, was undoubtedly justified in celebrating Cimabue as a fellow-citizen. But he fails to note that his training may have been largely received outside his native city. We know that he was in Rome in 1272 and found Cavallini there and in his prime. We know that he was in Pisa at the beginning of the fourteenth century and may well have been there before that time, and have previously so impressed the Pisans that they were willing to use him instead of a local artist. He must have been at Assisi somewhere in the early nineties of the thirteenth century; and he would not have been there had he not been then well known.

Cimabue combines the grace of the Sieneese, the dignity of the Roman, and the dramatic feeling of the Pisan schools. He records the high-water mark of the Florentine school of his day as Duccio did that of the Sieneese. He prepares the way for Giotto.

CHAPTER IV

Giotto

THERE is an early tradition, yet one which dates long after his death, that makes Giotto Cimabue's pupil. It tells how the latter artist found the boy tending sheep and drawing pictures of his charges on a piece of slate to pass the time. Struck by the lad's ability, Cimabue took him along as his pupil. The difficulty with this story is that a document exists which shows that Giotto's father, far from being a shepherd, was a distinguished citizen of Florence.

The same tradition which makes Cimabue Giotto's teacher also states that the latter's first works are the frescoes dealing with the Franciscan legend in the Upper Church at Assisi. These pictures show the artist more indebted to the Roman school and possibly even to Cavallini, than to Cimabue.

At the same time Giotto had no use for the impersonality of the Roman school. Whether it was by insistence upon local detail, or by any other means, he got an effect of reality unknown before. He used gesture as a forceful agent in pictorial expression. He was a close student of the people with whom he lived and therefore found it unnecessary to go to other painters for instruction.

Gifted like Homer and Dante with the power to use the commonplace with telling effect, Giotto employed the



Peruzzi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence

GIOTTO: "RAISING OF DRUSIANA"

Alinari

GIOTTO

trivial incident without lowering his art from the epic to the banal. If this, however, had been the total of his qualities, he would not stand among the greatest painters of all time. Beyond all his contemporaries and to an equal degree with any subsequent master, he could superlatively dramatize any event he represented. For example, his Paduan Pietà—no one has better shown the poignancy of despairing grief.

It is also the knowledge that composition is as important as individualized emotion in dramatic expression that marks Giotto off from his contemporaries. In his impressive "Raising of Lazarus," in the same chapel with the Pietà, one may properly admire the compelling characterization of the deathly, semi-conscious Lazarus, the amazement of the spectators, and the supernatural power of Christ. But the intelligent critic will also note that nicely adjusted gesture and calculated position of the several figures add inestimably to the story-telling power.

Yet dramatic force alone would not place the artist in so exalted a position. Others, notably Cimabue, possessed this. It is the epic quality that contributes so much to the distinction of Giotto's art—a quality which partakes neither of the hierarchic calm of the Roman school nor the passionate feeling of the Tuscan, but rather is due to the dignity with which the artist envelops his majestic forms.

Another factor which separates Giotto from his contemporaries is the feeling of weight suggested by his figures. Except in rare instances Duccio had been unable to make his actors tread firmly on the ground. Giotto, on the contrary, so modeled them that they are responsive to the pull of gravity. The main cause of this

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is that proper drawing combined with effective modeling makes them three-dimensional beings. To a high degree Giotto's type of body contributed to this effect.

It is in the eyes, however, that the artist most emphatically protests against the mediæval type. The lids come so closely together that the eye is almost a slit. The



Arena Chapel, Padua

Alinari

GIOTTO: PIETÀ

effect of narrowness is further emphasized by prolonging the line of the lid back into the temple, giving the impression of slyness. Except in the distinctly portrait type, the forehead and nose are drawn as if the painter were haunted by the conventional profile of Greek sculpture. The chin is no longer softly rounded, as hitherto, but strongly projecting.

GIOTTO

Giotto is not without his faults. At times the drawing of the hands is unsatisfactory and always the articulation of the several members is most broadly generalized. In the matter of the background two facts are remarkable. Generally the artist disregarded the correlation of figures and buildings. Toward the end of his life, however, as in the "Raising of Drusiana" in the Peruzzi Chapel of Sta. Croce in Florence, the architectural setting comes close to being in proportion with the figures.

It is perhaps a surprise to find that this artist, who cast his figures in such an heroic mold, uses such exquisitely delicate shades as rose and green. Byzantine art to a high degree had developed color in its decoration, in fact, depended largely upon it for its effects, but in direct opposition to these mediæval painters who aimed at splendor stands Giotto as the exponent of delicate tones which are like the most exquisite melodies when set against the pronounced effects of the best Byzantine tradition.

Of the man we know little. If we may believe tradition, he had downright common sense, was practical and business-like. He could paint pictures glorifying the virtue of poverty; but could state his own opinion on the subject in a poem which ridiculed the idea of voluntary poverty. His whimsical turn of mind is revealed in his retort to King Robert, who, upon finding the artist at work in a church one hot day, remarked, "I wouldn't work here to-day if I were you." "Neither would I if I were you," quickly answered Giotto.

As an artist there can be no question but that he loomed large. Dante, who knew him well, places him in the same class with Cimabue.

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He was born about 1266 at Colle in the commune of Vespignano. If we are right in assuming that he did his first work at Assisi, he was active there probably in the nineties of the thirteenth century. He next appears in Rome from 1298 to 1300, when he painted the Stefaneschi altarpiece, designed the much restored "Navicella" and painted certain frescoes for Pope Boniface. After that he may have returned to Florence to paint in the palace of the Podestà, leaving the city in 1301 for a second visit to Assisi. In the neighborhood of 1320, probably, he did the Bardi and Peruzzi chapel frescoes in Sta. Croce, Florence. His presence at Naples is attested by a document in which King Robert admits the painter to the privileges of the royal family.

CHAPTER V

The Giotteschi

BY his insistence upon natural expression and by his hints of the possible value of setting in increasing the illusion of reality, Giotto opened up a vista which could not be overlooked by those who followed. His successors, therefore, show a marked tendency to emphasize the reality of events by the introduction of matter which, otherwise irrelevant, looked toward the creation of local color. Failing to understand the causes which gave dignity to Giotto's figures, these lesser men tried for grandeur through magnificence and complication of background.

In this direction they were undoubtedly driven by external forces. During the second half of the fourteenth century the control of art, to a large extent, passed from the hands of the Franciscans into those of the Dominicans, whose speculative and philosophic tendencies undoubtedly had much to do with blotting out the simple descriptive style used by the Franciscans in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Large, and usually complex, compositions became popular; and these fitted in well with the mood of the painters, who, if intellectually limited as compared with Giotto, were nevertheless facile and anxious to develop his ideals as they conceived them.

Taddeo Gaddi

The greatest of Giotto's immediate Florentine successors is his godson, Taddeo Gaddi, who for over twenty years was associated with him in the capacity of pupil and assistant. A record, dated 1350, mentions Taddeo



Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence

Alinari

TADDEO GADDI: "PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN"

as the first of the Florentine painters of the time, and Villani, writing at the end of the fourteenth century, places him along with the best of Giotto's pupils.

Long association with his master should have enabled him to carry on the Giottesque traditions. But unfortunately he was not a genius and, though at times a facile

craftsman as well as occasionally productive of distinguished work, he never rises to his master's level. He seems to have felt his own limitations, for Sacchetti, who writes a little later than Boccaccio, makes the artist say that art had fallen far since Giotto's death, and though there were many "valiant" painters still living it was still sinking to a lower level.

On August 7, 1338, Taddeo finished his greatest work, the "Life of the Virgin" in the Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence. In painting this fresco he had in mind the same subject done by Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua a generation before. But he was so obsessed by the need of amplification that he entirely lost his teacher's clarity. Yet elaboration is not Taddeo's chief fault. It is his misunderstanding of the qualities which made Giotto great. He believed that the majesty of his teacher's figures derived chiefly from their bulk instead of their lofty character.

For this reason he enlarged his forms beyond reason—even lengthening the heads from chin to crown and elongating the neck to increase the effect of height. The exaggerated form of head is intensified by an extremely long chin and nose so drawn that they are almost in a line. The narrow eyes of Giotto's figures are even narrower and longer in Taddeo's.

Barring a refinement of color and a distinct facility of execution, Taddeo, like the other men of his generation, fell behind Giotto in just those features which made the latter distinguished. Where Giotto's pictures are grave his pupil's usually show only ambitious formality. Giotto's have lofty religious emotion, Taddeo's merely the effect of religious tableaux. Where Giotto's figures

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are simple and serious, his pupil's act with generalized, conventional movements. The very reverence Taddeo had for Giotto tended to his undoing. For him the master had said the last word on the subject of painting; therefore he could do no better than utilize Giotto's ideas.

Taddeo's debt to his teacher does not imply that he never did anything original. There are times when, if he does not rank with the latter, he is master enough to stand among the best of those following in the steps of the founder of the school. His knowledge of light and shade, as shown in "The Angel Appearing to the Shepherds," in the Baroncelli Chapel, foretells the chiaroscuro of Piero della Francesca in the next century. Still the fact remains that Taddeo lost sight of Giotto's dignity. For him, as for those who follow in the fourteenth century, the gift of seeing things simply was lost.

Andrea Orcagna

Had it not been for the appearance at this time of a man of remarkable ability, art would have found itself again much more slowly than it did. This artist is Andrea di Cione, more commonly called Andrea Orcagna. He was born about 1308 and died probably in 1368. He was at once architect, sculptor, and painter. Of his early training little is known, but, judging from his style both as sculptor and painter, he was influenced by Andrea Pisano's graceful art. We do not know who taught him to paint, yet when we meet him first in the fifties of the fourteenth century there is no doubt that something of Giotto is reborn in him.

The first works in which we can study his style, and

also those which are his best, are the "Last Judgment" and "Paradise" in the Strozzi Chapel of Sta. Maria Novella in Florence. The composition, antique and simple to a marked degree, required no especial ability, yet the



Sta. Maria Novella, Florence

Alinari

ANDREA ORCAGNA: DETAIL FROM "LAST
JUDGMENT"

dignified figures show the artist superior to his contemporaries and well on a par with Giotto. Both men understood the value of broadly handled drapery, both pressed the feet of their figures firmly on the ground, and both knew how to use the hands eloquently. But in Orcagna's

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work these members on the whole are more carefully drawn and much more graceful.

Orcagna has much of Giotto's strength; to which he adds a gracious tenderness derived either from Andrea Pisano or from some Sienese source. The influence which accounts for the softening of the facial expression may also have contributed to the grace of the slender figures which he preferred to Giotto's stalwart forms.

In perspective and foreshortening Orcagna advances little beyond his contemporaries. In dramatic action he falls far below Giotto and the Lorenzetti. He did, however, understand the importance of simple, unified composition. The "Paradise," for example, unpretentious as it is in its arrangement, is imposing because of its simplicity.

The artist's essential characteristic is the tempering of strength with tender grace. This quality to a certain extent he passed on to Masolino. Combined with a brilliant yet tender color, it makes him distinctly a forerunner of Fra Angelico. It would be difficult to overemphasize Orcagna's importance in the history of fourteenth century painting.

The Spanish Chapel

The change from simple narrative to complex abstruseness, noted as a quality of the Giottesques, is conspicuous in a great series of frescoes which cover the walls of the Spanish Chapel in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

With the decoration of this chapel Vasari associated Taddeo Gaddi and Simone Martini. Taddeo, he says,

THE GIOTTESCHI

when half through with the task, generously consented to have Simone, his fellow-pupil under Giotto, assist in finishing the work. Now Simone was never Giotto's pupil; furthermore, he died in France in 1344, some six years before the chapel was completed. As for Taddeo, there are no stylistic reasons for thinking that he had



Spanish Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence

Anderson

ANDREA ^{da Firenze} ~~BONAIUTI~~: "THE CHURCH TRIUMPHANT
AND MILITANT"

anything to do with the painting. The artist who wrought here is Andrea Bonaiuti (1343-1392).

The vast cycle of frescoes which veil the four walls and ceiling is an involved, scholastic attempt to show the importance of penitence in the scheme of redemption, and particularly of the penitence occasioned by the teaching of the Dominican order. The four compartments of the

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vault represent Christ rescuing Peter, the Resurrection, Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Spirit; the four walls, the Crucifixion, the Triumph of Penitence (the Church Militant and Triumphant), the Glorification of St. Thomas Aquinas and the lives of Sts. Peter Martyr and Dominic.

In this chapel the art of the Giotteschi came to its perfect flowering. What these followers lost in the way of simple statement is to a considerable degree compensated for by delicate gayety of color. It is possible to slur the "Crucifixion" by saying that spiritual content has gone by the board to be replaced by garrulous narrative; it is easy to insist on the fact that Dominican scholasticism with forced abstractions has crowded out Giotto's Franciscan simplicity. But after all there are dramatically energetic passages and bits of daring drawing.

Unquestionably the ethical quality of Giotto has gone. There is less nobility. Chatty narrative has taken its place. A mind that could conceive of painting black and white dogs into the "Church Triumphant" for the sake of making the pun "Domini-canes" is not of too high an order. Black and white, it will be remembered, are the Dominican colors.

In such works as these Florentine painting passed from trenchant simplicity to abstruse complexity.

Campo Santo

The same allegorical tendency noted in the Spanish Chapel and in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena reappears in a series of ambitious frescoes on the walls of the Campo

THE GIOTTESCHI

Santo at Pisa. These works date apparently in the third quarter of the fourteenth century and seem to be the work of some pupil, or pupils, of the Lorenzetti.

The "Triumph of Death" is the most remarkable of them all. Its motive is *carpe diem* and in driving home the irony that death seems to pass by those racked by



Campo Santo, Pisa

Brogi

"THE TRIUMPH OF DEATH"

suffering to reap the happy, the artist shrinks from no hideous detail of decay that may intensify the awful reality of his theme. He is a painter less refined than the Lorenzetti, but infinitely more realistic. He compels attention by sheer offensiveness. His work is the culmination of realistic narrative and allegorical painting.

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Antonio Veneziano

The continuation of the Giottesque manner in the last part of the fourteenth century is probably best seen in the work of Antonio Veneziano. He is Taddeo Gaddi's superior in narration. Through his ability to obtain



Campo Santo, Pisa

Brogi

ANTONIO VENEZIANO: "S. RANIERI LANDING AT MESSINA"

The upper register shows three episodes from the life of the Saint by Andrea Bonaiuti.

naturalistic effects he broke away from the usual Giottesque conventionality. He stands fairly as a transitional artist between the purer Giottesque, Orcagna, and the later painters, Masolino, Masaccio, and Fra Angelico. He lacks the graver dignity of Giotto because his realism results from the use of extensive incident, and he falls

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behind the latter three through his inability to perceive nature with their accurate observation.

Antonio is fairly successful in the "Landing of St. Ranieri" in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The tightly



Sta. Trinita, Florence

Alinari

LORENZO MONACO: "ANNUNCIATION"

stretched sails belly under the power of the wind and the distant landscape with its charmingly rendered hill-town is a reasonably successful adventure in perspective. His figures, less heroic than Giotto's, have a suggestion of Orcagna's gentleness. He elongates his forms after

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the manner of so many of the Giotteschi. He does not dispose his drapery as broadly as do Giotto and Orcagna, but he knows that the figure should carry its drapery and he renders his forms under the garments most successfully.

Lorenzo Monaco

The last able Giottesque painter is Lorenzo Monaco, who was born shortly before 1370 and lived through the first quarter of the fifteenth century. He is interesting not only because he represents the continuation into the fifteenth century of the non-naturalistic drawing of the Middle Ages, but also because he is the teacher of Filippo Lippi and the forerunner and possible teacher of Fra Angelico. He is best represented in the "Annunciation" in Sta. Trinita, Florence, the delicate charm of which suggests the influence of miniature painting. The artist shows his fondness for sinuous grace and his love of beautiful though conventional line. The drawing is able. Its anatomical defects indicate a draughtsman dependent more upon intuition than study for knowledge of forms. The picture, which has the same non-earthly beauty seen later in Fra Angelico, binds him closer to the latter than to his more realistic pupil, Filippo Lippi.

CHAPTER VI

The Revival of the Early Fifteenth Century

WITH Lorenzo ends the line of Giotto's followers. In spite of its failings the period of the Giotteschi was a far from barren time, since the sheer vastness of their undertakings gave the painters a courage and facility which was of prime importance in the next century. Two tendencies had developed. On the one hand, as in the work of Orcagna, is the style which, following the precepts laid down by Giotto, insisted upon the observance of balance, rhythm, and design; on the other, that which, seemingly inspired by Sienese tradition, has a liking for emotion. This varies all the way from the sentiment of Simone Martini's tenderness to the tragedy of the "Triumph of Death."

These two phases of art continued in the productions of such painters as Filippo Lippi, Botticelli, and Fra Angelico, or, in a more tragic mood, in the work of Masaccio, Signorelli and, later, Michelangelo.

The partially successful efforts of the fourteenth century artists had awakened a desire to solve the problems of anatomy and perspective. Florence forthwith took the lead and so outstripped other places that her artistic career is to a high degree the history of Italian painting. Only late in the Renaissance did other centers, notably Venice and Umbria, make important contributions.

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So intense was her interest in the science of painting that men like Castagno, Uccello, and Antonio Pollaiuolo at times disregarded pleasant effect for the sake of displaying their knowledge of anatomy and perspective.



Collegiate Church, Castiglione d'Olena Alinari

MASOLINO: "MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN"

Another group, although conscious of the value of these investigations, never lost sight of the ideal of beauty. They used the knowledge of these ultra-realists but, by subordinating interest in anatomy, foreshortening, and perspective to the desire for pleasant effects, they created a style which came to its completion in Andrea del Sarto, Fra Bartolommeo, and Raphael.

REVIVAL OF EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Masolino

The first clear sign of the passing from the intuitive style of the Giotteschi to the impressive manner of the fifteenth century appears in the work of Tommaso di Cristiforo Fini, commonly known as Masolino da Pani-



Baptistery, Castiglione d'Olena

Alinari

MASOLINO: "BAPTISM OF CHRIST"

cale. He was born probably in 1383, enrolled in the Guild of the Medici e Speziali at Florence in 1423, and died in 1447.

Masolini has left considerable work at Florence, Rome, and Castiglione d'Olena, but because it is difficult to distinguish some of his pictures in the Brancacci Chapel of the Carmine at Florence, and in the Church of San

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Clemente in Rome, from those of his great assistant, Masaccio, it is best to begin the study of his style with his frescoes in the Collegiate Church and in the baptistery at Castiglione d'Olona. In these Masaccio had no part.



Brancacci Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence Alinari

MASOLINO: DETAIL FROM "RAISING OF
TABITHA"

The paintings were finished possibly between 1428, the date of the completion of the church, and the year 1435, which appears on the vault of the baptistery. The more primitive style of the church frescoes suggests that they may have been done in 1423 when the building was practically finished. They carry the signature of the

REVIVAL OF EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY

artist; and the paintings in the baptistery are so like them that there can be no question of an identity of authorship. The pictures in the vault of the choir of the collegiate church deal with the life of the Virgin; those in the baptistery with the story of the Baptist.

The choir frescoes show Masolino's close adherence to mediæval traditions. In the "Marriage of the Virgin" he painted with the same fondness for markedly slender form and sinuous grace as the late Giotteschi, notably Lorenzo Monaco. His delicately refined figures, with clinging, flowing drapery, light movements and lack of weight, show his interest in abstract beauty and exquisite line rather than out-and-out naturalism. They remind one of the work of the Sienese, but, in all probability, their exquisiteness arises rather from familiarity with mediæval, miniature painting.

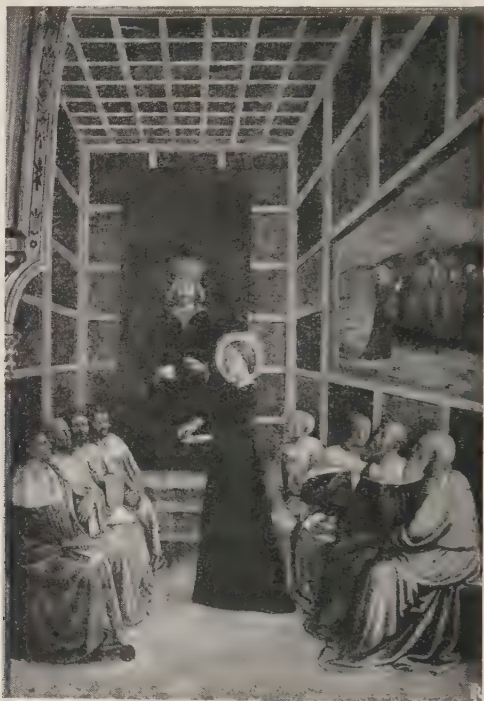
Yet to characterize Masolino as mediæval would, if the word implied condemnation, be wrong. Had he not studied nature closely, he never could have painted the realistic nudes in the "Baptism of Christ" in the baptistery nor have done the very successful portraits just below in the "John Preaching" and in the "Feast of Herod."

Of perspective, too, he seems to have had some knowledge. In the "Baptism" the river retreats more or less into the distance; and the loggia in the "Feast of Herod" is a fairly good study in architectural foreshortening. The use of different vanishing points for the drawing of the two buildings produces a dislocation of the perspective. But, barring this defect, the work shows the artist abreast of his time. The exquisitely handled Corinthian and composite capitals of the two loggias, and the design

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of the loggias themselves, mark the influence of the newly revived classic style.

In the Brancacci Chapel the determination of Masolino's part is, in several instances, a matter of personal



S. Clemente, Rome

Brogi

MASOLINO: "ST. CATHERINE DISPUTING
WITH THE DOCTORS"

opinion. For example, in the "Raising of Tabitha" it is easy to think that Masaccio is responsible for the impressive open square and possibly the two apostles at the left. But the episode at the right is Masolino's. In it

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he displays the types used later at Castiglione d'Olona, while the two who cross from one side of the square to the other almost duplicate two figures in the "Feast of Herod."

The frescoes in San Clemente, Rome, which deal with the life of St. Catherine, preserve the mediæval types of Castiglione d'Olona.

In Masolino we see the passing of the generalized types of Giotto's followers and the growing observance of fact in nature. In certain particulars he is still influenced by the mediæval school, but in his maturer work he is of the Renaissance.

Masaccio

That movement, however, which represents the awakening of interest in an exact study of anatomy, of an appreciation of perspective as it applies to landscape, architecture and the human form, is most clearly expressed in the first quarter of the fifteenth century in the art of Tommaso di Ser Giovanni. This remarkable artist, better known as Masaccio, was born in 1401. He died, probably in 1428, in Rome. According to Vasari he came to Florence in his youth and entered Masolino's studio. Later, in 1421, he appears on the books of the Florentine Medici e Speziali and, in 1424, on those of the Guild of St. Luke.

Several works by Masaccio have been preserved and, on stylistic grounds, his name has been associated with the paintings by Masolino in San Clemente, Rome. But he can be studied best in the "Trinity" of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, and especially in the Brancacci Chapel

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of the Carmine in the same city. Here, just before 1428, when he went to Rome leaving his work incomplete,



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

MASACCIO: "MADONNA AND CHILD WITH
ST. ANNE"

Masaccio rose to the height of his development, and left a series of frescoes that had a tremendous influence upon many of the great artists of the Renaissance.



Brancacci Chapel, Florence Alinari

MASACCIO: "THE EXPULSION"

Critics still debate whether one or two of the paintings are by Masolino or Masaccio; but of the "Expulsion from Eden" and the "Tribute Money" there can be no

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doubt that Masaccio produced them. From these and "Peter Baptising," which seems certainly by Masaccio, and from the "Trinity" we may get an understanding of the painter's style and an appreciation of the remarkable florescence of Florentine painting during the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

At the time of Masaccio's appearance Italy had awakened to the value of her classic inheritance. Already Brunelleschi had studied the laws of perspective and had devoted much attention to the revival of classic architecture, while Ghiberti had made a serious study of perspective as it applied to the pictorial relief which he modeled.

In company with these two distinguished artists moved an even greater one, Donatello. Thoroughly realistic and able to give his figures a fiery vigor unknown to Giotto, he made the human form and its drapery the subject of exacting study. Not only did he correctly express the articulation of the various parts of the human frame, but he so thoroughly understood form itself that its characteristics were properly exhibited under the enveloping garments. The latter were so searchingly examined that often the exactness of the rendition eliminates all that is ideal. His deep knowledge of classic sculpture never prevented him from interpreting life in his own passionate fashion.

These men molded the character of Italian art in the first years of the *quattrocento*, and soon the painters developed an interest in the problems which had intrigued them. Such were Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno. Intent upon naturalism at the expense of artistic generalization, these two artists represent the extreme

REVIVAL OF EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY

of the realistic movement which was developing so rapidly in Florence.

Although the science of painting in the first quarter of the fifteenth century had advanced far beyond anything conceived by Giotto, in the matter of relationship of genius to environment he and Masaccio stand on the same plane. Just as Giotto gathered up in himself all the knowledge of his time and added to it the gift of dramatic expression, Masaccio, from contact with his friends, Brunelleschi, Donatello, Uccello and Castagno, absorbed their knowledge, and, by fusing with it his own epic feeling, produced a style which was the most impressive seen in Italy up to his time.

Both Giotto and Masaccio have a direct, heroic manner. In the latter's "Tribute Money" lingers nothing of the graceful, mediæval quality which marks the work of Masolino. In its place is dignity. The actors move with the sobriety of tragedy.

Largely this quality arises from the type used. Masaccio's forms are massive and press firmly on the ground. Their stately movements are appropriately simple and easy because of the facility of drawing that the artist always shows. Masaccio, like Giotto, possessed great dramatic power. No artist, not even Giotto himself, had produced so passionately expressive a picture as the "Expulsion" at the entrance of the Brancacci Chapel; nor has any subsequent artist, although Raphael practically copied this fresco in the Loggia of the Vatican, succeeded in intensifying its power. Even Michelangelo's treatment of the subject must be conceded to fall below Masaccio's.

The "Expulsion" is of further interest because of its

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remarkable chiaroscuro, which gives to the figures the three-dimensional character of statues. Its light and shade differs from Giotto's by virtue of the brilliant contrast between the high light and the shadow. This bold opposition models the figures with a power that no one before Masaccio displayed. Masolino's treatment in the



Brancacci Chapel, Florence

Brogi

MASACCIO: "THE TRIBUTE MONEY"

"Temptation," which faces this, seems mild and indefinite in comparison.

Masaccio applied his knowledge of chiaroscuro also to the modeling of his statuesque drapery. He displays it in the apostle to the right of the tax-collector in the "Tribute Money"—possibly a likeness of the artist himself—whose mantle, less smooth and slippery than Giotto's robes, falls in great deep folds, the high lights

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and dark shadows of which give the effect of heroic amplitude.

In landscape Masaccio is distinctly modern. He replaces the carved hills of Giotto and his followers by a



Brancacci Chapel, Florence

Alinari

MASACCIO: "PETER BAPTIZING"

background in which not only aërial and linear perspective play their part, but wherein also is the proper generalization in distant objects. That Masaccio should have risen superior to his predecessors in this respect is to be expected, for at this time the problem of perspective

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was being attacked by men who made it their business to work out its solution. With the all-absorbing power of genius he took to himself the knowledge these men had acquired.

It is not surprising that the grandeur of the paintings in the Brancacci Chapel, their apparent simplicity and complete realization of form should have led Leonardo to hail Masaccio as the savior of painting, and that Michelangelo and Raphael should have studied in the Brancacci Chapel and in their work have confessed their indebtedness to the creator of its frescoes. With these pictures a new era in painting began.

While Masaccio availed himself of the knowledge of perspective, chiaroscuro, form, and diction which his contemporaries had laboriously acquired, in every instance he subordinated all these features to the one principle of making his art noble. On the other hand, there were men around him in Florence, as well as those who continued to labor after he had died, who took especial pleasure in the solution of problems that lay in the way of a close approximation of the surface of natural objects. They were more interested in the external forms of things than in their significance. They desired a faithful likeness. To that end they made most careful studies with a view to reproducing the exact appearance of nature. Thus they lost sight of the fact that art should not be slavishly imitative but selectively interpretative. Under their hands art became realistic.

Painters of this stamp were not as great as Masaccio. Yet they did yeoman's service for Italian painting, since, by their scientific, non-idealistic attitude, they made it possible for greater successors, Leonardo and Michel-

REVIVAL OF EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY

angelo, to find at hand the means by which they could work out their own ideals. The problems to which these scientific painters devoted themselves were those of perspective, not only in landscape and architecture, but also its variant, foreshortening in connection with the human figure, the rendering of physical force and expressiveness of incident.

Paolo Uccello

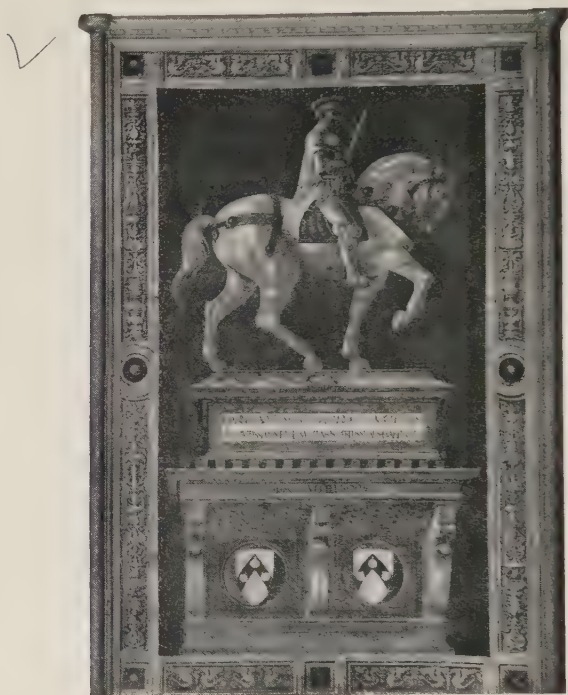
The most notable representative of the perspectivists is Paolo Doni, or, as he is better known, Paolo Uccello. He was born in 1396 and died in 1475. He was so enamored of perspective that every picture was seized upon as an opportunity to work out some problem in his favorite subject. Beauty was secondary. Possibly his connection with Ghiberti, to whom he was apprenticed in 1407 and with whom he was associated in the creation of the second baptistery doors, may have stimulated this interest in him. Certainly his acquaintance with Donatello quickened it.

Of Uccello's work unfortunately only a little remains. Of this the most characteristic pictures are the three battle panels of the National Gallery in London, the Louvre and the Uffizi, together with his portrait of Sir John Hawkwood and the "Deluge"—the latter in the "Chiostro Verde" of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. Were the dramatic frescoes in Sta. Maria Novella in better condition there we should find the summation of Uccello's style. As it is, we shall discover all his interest in perspective, his knowledge of chiaroscuro and his power of dramatic portraiture all revealed in the frescoed equestrian por-

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trait of Hawkwood high on the inside of the façade of the Duomo in Florence.

With striking fidelity he has produced the semblance of that type of wall-tomb which was common enough in



Duomo, Florence

Alinari

PAOLO UCCELLO: "SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD"

Italy during the Renaissance, and has seized the opportunity to elevate the figure of the famous *condottiere* to a considerable height so that he could display his skill in perspective. The effect of sculpture is enhanced by the proper use of light and shade and the employment



Convent of St. Apollonia, Florence

Alinari

ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO: "THE LAST SUPPER"

of monochrome coloring in *terra verde*. This work was completed in 1436. It therefore indicates the technical skill of the Florentine painters toward the middle of the century.

Andrea del Castagno

The school of uncompromising realism which developed the savage force of Uccello was responsible for the style of an equally powerful painter, Andrea del Castagno. Contemporary with Uccello, for he was born probably about 1410 and died in 1457, he, too, undoubtedly felt the influence of contemporary Florentine sculptors. Their teaching appears in the solidity of his figures and in the obviously sculpturesque cast of his drapery. Although less interested than Uccello in perspective, his knowledge of that subject is complete.

He states his creed most clearly in his "Last Supper" in Sta. Apollonia in Florence. If its color is somewhat

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sullen, it is none the less beautiful. Grays that range from silver to lavender sheening with rose or glowing red, deep green, deep yellow, fawn and dark red—these are the hues that produce the sober melody. Somehow this subdued harmony seems most appropriately accompanied by a remarkably vigorous and accurate drawing of faces and hands. The lack of selection in the types can hardly be avoided when artists are more intent upon the realization of the fact than in the poetry to be found in nature. Yet this is not entirely to their discredit, for it was Uccello's insistence upon the importance of perspective and Castagno's power of characterization that at a later date made possible the art of Antonio Pollaiuolo and his school.

Fra Angelico

Directly opposed to the realists stand the idealists, and at their head Fra Angelico. Of few artists has a more incorrect impression been given, and to few a greater injustice done. Owing to Vasari it has been generally believed that he was merely a sweet-tempered, religious ecstatic so lost in beatific visioning that he remains a naïve, although quaintly beautiful, but belated mediævalist living in a century when sculptor, architect, and painter were keenly alive to the science of their respective branches of art.

This is absolutely incorrect. True, Fra Angelico was religious, so much so that religion tintured his whole artistic being. He was nevertheless quite aware of the advances that had been made in his own and the sister arts of his day. To understand how this misconception

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developed it will pay to sketch briefly the main events of his life.

Fra Angelico was born near the small town of Vicchio in 1387, bore the name of Guido and entered the Dominican order as Fra Giovanni in 1408. Just where he spent the first years of his career as a monk is a question. Possibly, since the order at Fiesole, when he presented himself, had no novitiate, he may have been sent at once to Cortona. If true, this is an important fact, because his earliest work is found at Cortona. In 1418 he returned to Fiesole, where he remained until 1436. That year the order moved to Florence and took up its abode in the monastery of San Marco, which Cosimo de' Medici had caused to be restored for them by the architect, Michelozzo Michelozzi. Here the painter stayed until 1447. Then, at the command of Pope Nicholas V, he went to Rome to work in the Vatican. Except for the summer of 1447, which he spent at Orvieto working on the ceiling of the San Brizio Chapel, the rest of his life was spent in the Holy City. He died there in 1455.

There can be no question that the artist was a saint at heart. The name, Fra Angelico, given to him after his death by the members of his order, apart from the internal evidence of his paintings, proves this fact. But he was more than a merely saintly friar. He was distinctly conscious of the progress that painting had made.

We do not know the artist's first teacher. But, judging from his earliest works, it is likely that in his youth he was influenced by the miniaturists. Possibly one of his early teachers was Lorenzo Monaco. At any rate he was a trained painter when he took orders.

His training in the gay school of miniature painting he

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never forgot. Even when the building of his monastery in 1436 brought him to Florence and into the acquaintance of Michelozzo Michelozzi, its classical architect, and later when the command of the Pope summoned him to Rome with all its antique tradition, he still painted with a light, joyous color that is merely the palette of the miniaturist glorified. Undoubtedly this is to be explained



Vatican, Rome

Alinari

FRA ANGELICO: "STEPHEN PREACHING"

by his character. His faith was simple and sweet and the gentle saintly types he employed could be properly expressed only by the use of an exquisitely lovely color.

This is his essential characteristic. But he was too intelligent to allow the Renaissance to pass by him without noting what it was doing. He could retain the sweet shyness of Masolino and Orcagna, but friendly contact with Michelozzo in the courtyard of St. Mark recorded itself

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in the Corinthian capitals and sculptured medallions that crept into his pictures. He still loved to sprinkle his greensward with daintily painted flowers, but this did not prevent him from attempting difficult foreshortening. He could admire all that Donatello, Ghiberti, and Brunelleschi had achieved without surrendering his own inno-



Uffizi, Florence

Brogi

FRA ANGELICO: "CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN"

cent sweetness. Sometimes he casts his shadows with an almost learned precision as if he had access to some architect's drawings. Few painters of his time, in fact, have equaled him in the use of classic detail. Serious study gradually transformed him from a miniaturist, so to speak, into one who could match himself against the

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most able of his day. This does not imply the frank realism of the confessed naturalists, but that, while using the knowledge of these and other scientific painters of the period, Fra Angelico, by tempering their style with his own idealism, preserved his personality uncontaminated to the end.

In the Chapel of Nicholas V, Fra Angelico executed his finest work. The frescoes consist of a series of scenes dealing with the lives of Sts. Stephen and Lawrence. In them the artist displays the power and knowledge which he had steadily acquired in the course of his life.

The "Stephen Preaching," for example, presents a most convincing bit of architectural and aërial perspective. There is the effect of an open square, such as one might see in Florence, and a narrow street leading out from it. The light, which so brilliantly plays upon the building at the right and deepens on the other side of the square and the narrow street, gives to the picture the quality of real atmosphere. The scene so recalls the setting of the "Healing of the Cripple" in the Brancacci Chapel that it is difficult not to see here a memory of Masaccio.

The fine "Saint Lawrence Distributing Alms" shows that Fra Angelico was a keen, sympathetic observer of the life around him. In its own way each detail makes a strong appeal, whether one turns to the pair of little children who move away in amiable companionship with their dole, the unhappy mother with her baby in her arms, the pitifully helpless cripple, or the remarkably delineated blind man who feels his way along so naturally that one almost listens for the tapping of his staff. In this fresco Fra Angelico advanced to the limit of his art.

Fra Angelico presents us with a curious contradiction.

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On the one hand he is unquestionably a man of temperament so devout as to be able to rise to ecstasy, a man whose ideas of heaven and its inhabitants are as simple as a child's, a man who pictures the next world as a place of bright sunshine, flower-starred meadows where blissfully happy creatures dance and sing forever in the Divine Presence. On the other hand, he was a painter who, knowing his art as only a perfect technician could know it, was anxious to improve himself by the acquisition of the knowledge that was being developed at this time. As a colorist he stands in the first rank, and, although many came later who knew more sumptuous, resonant color schemes, none excelled him in the purity of his tones. His happily buoyant temperament was, as it were, reflected in the color he used. His style was perfectly expressive of his personality. He is one of the great transitional painters of the Renaissance.

Filippo Lippi

The artist who at this time had perhaps the most to do with the humanizing of Italian painting is Fra Filippo Lippi. Born in Florence probably in 1406, and at the age of eight placed in the hands of the near-by Carmelite friars, in 1421 he became a member of that order. Ten years later, finding the constraint of monastic life irksome, he went out from the monastery and entered upon his career as a painter.

Judged by subsequent events, Filippo Lippi was a monk more because he had been brought up from childhood in the monastery than because of personal choice. His easy morality is demonstrated by the fact that in 1457, while

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at work upon an altarpiece for the nuns of Sta. Margherita, he abducted and seduced one of the novices, Lucrezia Buti, who herself had been placed in the nunnery much against her wishes. She later bore the painter



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

FILIPPO LIPPI: "MADONNA ADORING
THE CHILD"

a son, the painter Filippino Lippo, and a daughter, Alessandra, named probably after Botticelli.

Much of Filippo's early life is obscure, yet it should be remembered that, when he was about eighteen, Masolino was at work in the Brancacci Chapel and that by 1423, when Masaccio had finished his great frescoes in that chapel, Lippi had reached the age of twenty-two. The work of these two men he must have known, and



Cathedral, Prato

Alinari

FILIPPO LIPPI: "BURIAL OF ST. STEPHEN"

they may have eventually opened his eyes to the realistic tendencies of the Renaissance. But at first his work shows more of an affiliation with the miniaturist style. This appears in the delicate, gentle type of madonna he then uses. Such a style may have come to him from some miniaturist from whom as a boy he got his first training.

Strange as it may seem, he has something in common with Fra Angelico. Like the latter he loved cheerful, delicate color, loved to use gold, and was distinctly poetic. The major difference between the two is that an intense piety seems to have kept the Dominican from surrendering himself to a complete physical enjoyment of nature, while Filippo, with a true naturalistic spirit, directed his chief efforts toward the realization of the sensuous beauty of the world.

One might carry the parallel farther. Both were sympathetic toward the Renaissance. But whereas the one always held his humanistic inclination subject to the dis-

cipline of the spirit, Lippi almost too easily surrendered himself to all that the new movement implied.

To illustrate—Fra Angelico once in a while, as in the “Deposition from the Cross,” shows that he was familiar with landscape. But this feature always remains subordinate to the spiritual intention of the picture. Filippo, on the other hand, so fuses the naturalistic landscape with the religious element of his pictures that the abstract potency of the latter is weakened. His intention is to humanize religion, and more than any artist up to his time did he emphasize the earthly motherhood of Mary. Fra Angelico never did this. Lippi’s is a worldly art. His great contemporary’s is primarily spiritual. The one clung to an idealized type adequate to express his beatific mood. The other readily turned to definite models—perhaps under Donatello’s influence—and painted, for example, angel types that are almost vulgar in their faithfulness to the living model.

Skill in portraiture, knowledge of perspective, ability to model grandiose figures in sculpturesque drapery all appear in the supreme achievement of Filippo’s life—the frescoes in the choir of the church at Prato. The work was begun in May, 1452, and completed after many interruptions in August, 1464. Moisture has made its way through the walls and badly injured the paintings, but they still give a good impression of the development of Filippo Lippi’s style at this late period of his life.

The “Burial of Saint Stephen” is Filippo’s high-water mark in the grand style of the Renaissance. Compared with this architectural setting, Fra Angelico’s attempt in the Chapel of Nicholas V is more or less amateurish. In this spacious interior the classic details are rendered

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with great strength and dignity. The artist's knowledge of perspective is distinctly creditable.

The composition is a simple arrangement of fairly equal masses on either side. The introduction of contemporary portraits among the bystanders is merely a reflection of the growing habit of the Renaissance. The picture both in the matter of setting and individual likenesses foretells Domenico Ghirlandaio.

A summary of Filippo's character would be this. His temperament was such that, while he felt more or less sympathy for the scientific painters, he still retained a considerable idealism, or at least love of beauty, which expresses itself in delicately executed decoration, in superlatively happy coloring. He is thus an intermediary between the pure idealists and the ultra-realists. A certain matter-of-factness, tinged by a love of beauty, allowed him to use reasonably the more technical knowledge of his contemporaries.

CHAPTER VII

The Development of Naturalism in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century

Antonio Pollaiuolo

AFTER Castagno had shown the possibilities of expression in the human form, it was inevitable that the study of anatomy should be carried on intensively in the second half of the fifteenth century. The leader in this study was Antonio Pollaiuolo.

Little is known of the artist's life. It is supposed that he was born about 1432. He is known to have died on February 4, 1498. By profession he was a sculptor, or rather, a goldsmith. Vasari tells us that his early training was under the Ghiberti. But, whoever was his teacher in sculpture, there is enough resemblance between the works of the two men to indicate that in painting he modeled his style upon Castagno's. Both were interested in the same thing—the study of physical, male strength. In landscape he may have been a pupil of Baldovinetti. In either instance the relationship is established only by a study of his work.

The study of Antonio's style as a painter is complicated by the fact that most of his life he was assisted by his brother, Piero, who was considerably his junior and decidedly his inferior. For this reason it is sometimes

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very difficult to say what each contributed to any joint work.

There are nevertheless several characteristic works in which Antonio's hand is fairly easily distinguished. Those from which we may best derive our knowledge of his style are the following: "David" (Berlin), "Apollo and Daphne" (National Gallery, London), two small panels representing Hercules slaying Antæus and Hercules killing the Hydra (Uffizi), the "Dancing Nudes" (La Gallina, Arcetri), the "Battle of the Ten Nudes" (an engraving, the best example of which is in the Lichtenstein Collection, Feldberg), the designs for the embroideries (Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, Florence), the "Hercules and Nessus" panel (Jarves Collection, Yale University, New Haven), and the "Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian" (National Gallery, London).

Only two of these can be dated at all positively—the panels representing the Labors of Hercules. It is known, for example, that in 1460, the next year after he set up as an independent master, Antonio executed for Lorenzo de' Medici a series of three large canvases representing Hercules slaying Antæus, Hercules killing the Nemean Lion, and Hercules killing the Hydra. These pictures have disappeared; but two little panels, showing the hero slaying Antæus and the Hydra—formerly also in the Medici Collection—are still in existence. Possibly they were submitted to Lorenzo as trial pieces, and from them the prince decided to have the enlarged canvases painted.

These little panels are finished with elaborate care and are the most satisfactory of all Antonio's work for the study of his characteristics. In them the artist shows



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO: "HERCULES AND ANTÆUS" AND "HERCULES AND HYDRA"



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

DEVELOPMENT OF NATURALISM

a pronounced pleasure in depicting the most violent action. Other painters, as, for example, Uccello, had represented figures in action, but no one had so displayed furious force. In the Antæus panel every possible agency is employed to produce the effect of supreme effort. The semi-crouching position of the hero as he gathers up the giant in his irresistibly crushing embrace, the taut sinews in Hercules' legs, the gritted teeth and drawn-back lips, the constricting left arm buried deeply in the groin of Antæus, the latter's swelling chest, his desperate pressure on Hercules' head, his impotently beating legs, and finally his thrown-back head and opened, screaming mouth—all these details tell the fury of the fight. The same feeling for irresistible, rushing action reappears in the Hydra panel.

In the Antæus panel the moment is chosen when the pose is practically static. In the Hydra panel, while the action is momentarily arrested as the hero swings his club above his head, the impression conveyed is that instantly the weapon will descend with frightful force on the head of the monster. Everything adds to the effect of intense action. The hero surges forward with such impetuosity that the mantle and lion's skin, secured at Hercules' waist and head, fill tautly behind him like a bellying sail. Even the whipping paws and tail of the skin add to the effect of swift movement.

Not always does Antonio express himself through the medium of such ferocious action. At times his figures move rapidly, rather with abandon than fury.

To display such tremendous force and violent action the artist used a nude, muscular figure. His amazing knowledge of its construction was acquired, as con-

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temporary testimony tells us, through actual anatomical dissection.

Antonio's model, while powerful, is not muscle-bound. Rather its frame is slight with well developed muscles and every superfluous ounce of flesh removed. In his "Dancing Nudes" the form is sturdier, but this is rather the exception than the rule. Spareness gives the figures the impression of having considerable height.

A corollary of Pollaiuolo's interest in the expression of power and action is his disregard of facial beauty. In struggling figures the grimace which distorts their countenances as a result of their desperate exertion militates against conventional beauty. But even in the exuberant dancing figures, or the quiet ones—for Antonio at times shows figures at rest or slowly moving—there is little beauty. But his pictures are gracefully rhythmic; they are also effectively composed.

Others before him had shown an interest in landscape, but it remained for Antonio to attempt detailed and naturalistic scenery. His favorite view is one of the Arno valley near Florence, and his usual arrangement places the figures upon an elevation of ground which, concealing the middle distance, allows an infinitely deep view into the distant river valley. Jan Van Eyck uses the same method.

In his color Antonio seems to have been influenced by his training as a goldsmith, for, just as in that art the colors of jewels, enamel, and gold are rich and subdued, in his painting the color is of the lower register. Warm browns, deep reds, blues, and amethyst figure largely on his palette; even his flesh tones are apt to be reddish. He renders fabrics with remarkable truth, and his treatment

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of metal, precious and semi-precious stones is lovingly careful.

It was only natural that so forceful a character should become the leader of the Florentine realistic movement in the second half of the fifteenth century. Between 1459, when he opened his own atelier, and 1484, when he departed for Rome to create the crowning sculptural works of his life—the tombs of Innocent VIII and Sixtus IV—he dominated contemporary art. Even so essentially different an artist as the mystic-idealist, Botticelli, was influenced by him.

Undoubtedly from Uccello and Castagno Antonio learned much; but with his wider outlook and his more sensitive appreciation of grace he so developed the realistic style as to make possible in the next generation the greater realism of Leonardo and Michelangelo. Standing midway between the dour directness of the earlier generation and the technical completeness of the following, he retains the intense sincerity of the fast disappearing mediæval spirit while exhibiting a command of technique which foreshadows the finished craft of the sixteenth century.

His position in Florence was one of unquestioned authority; so great was his reputation that hardly a work for church or state was created in which he did not participate. His studio became the rendezvous of those artists who wished to keep abreast of the times. There, because of his versatility, you could study, according to your fancy, sculpture, goldsmithing, painting, or decorative design. Even so strong a personality as Verrocchio, whose own *bottega* was much the same sort of place, was affected by the overpowering Antonio.

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Verrocchio

Andrea del Verrocchio, Pollaiuolo's great contemporary, was likewise trained as a goldsmith, made his reputation as a sculptor and was interested in painting, so to speak, as an avocation. There is, in fact, only one painting which may unquestionably be given to him. For this reason the identification of his style is largely a matter of speculation based for the most part upon a consideration of his sculpture and the works of his pupils and followers. The consideration of his pictorial style is a matter on which the ingenuity of the constructive critic may exercise itself.

Andrea del Verrocchio, as he is known from his first teacher, the goldsmith Giuliano Verrocchio, was the son of Michele di Francesco Cione, a maker of bricks and tiles. He was born presumably in 1435; he died in Venice in 1488 while occupied in the casting of his crowning glory, the equestrian statue of Bartolommeo Colleone. Besides Giuliano he had Donatello for an instructor, if we may believe Vasari, who says that Andrea was employed with this sculptor in the sacristy of San Lorenzo.

Leaving the question of his youthful career unsettled, we have almost yearly documentary evidence that he enjoyed the patronage of the Medici and the guilds of the city. So great, nevertheless, was his reputation, so broad his interests and so curious the spirit of investigation which impelled him into practically every field of art and even into the province of music and mathematics that his studio, like Pollaiuolo's, was one of the notable schools of art in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century. From it emerged no less a genius than Leonardo da Vinci.

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The first view of his "Baptism of Christ" reveals many points of contact with Pollaiuolo. The gaunt form of John, for example, shows the same curiosity as to anatomy that we find in Antonio Pollaiuolo. The sculptural hard-



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO: "BAPTISM
OF CHRIST"

ness of the figure which reappears in the drapery suggests the hand of one more used to rigid metal than fluid paint.

Vasari tells us that one of the angels in the picture was painted by Leonardo. Inspired by this remark modern critics have divided into different groups defending or attacking the possibility of Leonardo's participation. Whatever view is held, this much may be said: the

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delicate features and sensitively refined expression of the angel whose head is in profile are very close in character to what we find later in the work of the more mature Leonardo. Even the poetic background is unquestionably akin to the beautifully atmospheric background of his "Mona Lisa."

Our knowledge of Verrocchio's style as a painter must then depend upon the two larger figures in the picture. From them it appears that he is more refined than Pollaiuolo. So far as we may judge from this work, and when we move away from it we adventure into a more or less obscured field of conjecture, his influence upon Florentine painting must have come not from the actual examples which he set before his pupils but from the spirit of investigation and adventure which he aroused. That this instruction was valued is proved by the extended period during which Leonardo stayed in his studio.

Just as in the fourteenth century Giotto's realism was followed by a decorative art, like that of the Spanish Chapel, in the fifteenth the realists such as Uccello, Castagno, Pollaiuolo, and Verrocchio were attended by a group of painters who thought of their art in terms of decoration. One would not go far wrong in designating these men as pageant painters inasmuch as the subjects they selected, although scriptural in name, are in reality reproductions of the great spectacles with which Florence was familiar in the fifteenth century. Like the pageant painters of the preceding century, these men as a rule were of a smaller mental caliber than the scientific artists; but, as is the case with their fourteenth century predecessors, their easily comprehended art is pleasant, interesting, and not without passages that indicate talent.

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Benozzo Gozzoli

To this group belongs Benozzo di Lese di Sandro, commonly known as Benozzo Gozzoli. He was born in Florence in 1420 or 1424; the date of his death is 1498. His life therefore laps well over the transition from the mediæval manner into the vitally alert style of the late fifteenth century.

Who taught this artist is a matter of inference. We are told that during the years 1444-1447 he assisted Lorenzo Ghiberti on the second set of doors for the baptistery in Florence. If this is true, like most artists of the fifteenth century Benozzo received his initial training in the school of sculptors and bronze-workers. There are, however, no such decided indications of this sort of training as in the case of Pollaiuolo and Verrocchio.

That Fra Angelico took him to Rome as an assistant is not explicable upon the grounds of similarity of outlook. Possibly his dexterity, of which he later gave marked proof, was the reason. At all events, as soon as he began his independent career, which really started when in 1450 he went to Montefalco, he showed his fondness for narrative.

In the Riccardi Palace in 1459 he finished for Piero de' Medici the "Adoration of the Magi" which covers three walls of the small chapel of the palace. On the fourth he painted a vision of Paradise. In these beautiful, if redundant, pictures we have the perfect expression of Benozzo's art—decorative panoramic painting. From it the last vestige of religion has fled. Pleasant, nay gorgeous, effect only is desired. As presented on the walls of this little chapel we have undoubtedly the artist's re-

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membrance of those pageants in which from time to time under the guise of celebrating the Adoration of the Child the princely families of Florence vied with each other in rival splendor. The picture is an inexhaustible fund of entertainment for those who are delighted by intriguing



Riccardi Palace, Florence

Alinari

BENOZZO GOZZOLI: "ADORATION OF THE MAGI"

detail; it is a joy for those who love the sheer pleasure of decoration.

Certain mediæval characteristics linger in parts of the background and the perspective is not faultless, but the excellence of some of the portraits and types, the boldness in foreshortening and the allurements of color combine to show Benozzo what he is—a most estimable decorator.

Better than this the artist never did. Earlier in his life he had been delightfully intimate and entertaining,

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and later ambitiously pretentious in the vast cycle of frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa. But in neither does he approach to the beauty of the work in the Riccardi Chapel, and this may be said with the full knowledge that the Campo Santo cycle represents his last great work and certainly his most ambitious undertaking.

When at his best Gozzoli is chatty and intimate; his speech is easily understood. He is always interesting. Neither a philosophical painter nor a deep thinker, his manner is engaging and places him well up toward the first rank even if he fails to enter that rank.

In spite of the marked superiority of Giotto's works at Assisi Benozzo had vastly more effect upon the formation of Umbrian art of that neighborhood than the earlier artist. His art is rooted in the Gothic period and at first shows the influence of Fra Angelico. But this is more a matter of environment than temperament; therefore before long he began to interest himself specifically in the Renaissance problems of space-painting and perspective with a view to obtaining impressive decorative effects. He is not a genius; but persistence and industry carried him far toward success.

Ghirlandaio

Domenico Ghirlandaio is related to Benozzo in so far as he too pictured contemporary life. Of his youth we know little, since almost all of his preserved works date in the last decade of his life; yet it seems fairly well established that he was apprenticed to some goldsmith who from the making of coronets, or "garlands," was known as Ghirlandaio. From this goldsmith, after a custom



Sta. Maria Novella, Florence

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO: "PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN"

Alinari

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common enough in the Renaissance, Domenico took his name. His own was Bigordi. He was born in 1449 and died in 1494—probably of the plague.

Except that he seems to have been familiar with Masaccio's work in the Brancacci Chapel and Giotto's in Sta. Croce, and a strong probability that he may have



San Gimignano

Alinari

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO: "BURIAL OF STA. FINA"

worked in Verrocchio's studio, we do not know what other training he had. But he was learned in the laws of perspective, the drawing of architecture, the modeling of the human form and the problem of chiaroscuro.

One might draw interesting comparisons between Gozzoli and Ghirlandaio. Both, for example, were decorators interested in space-painting, both were excellent portraitists, and both had little concern with emotion. But

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there the resemblance ends, for Benozzo is intimate and garrulous with something of the mediæval love of detail, while Ghirlandaio is, when at his best, reserved, stately, and even grandiose. In his early work, the Sta. Fina series at San Gimignano, he gives a bit of the homeliness of Benozzo, but as soon as he had gone to Rome this more naïve manner was replaced by a formal style.

In his paintings the emotional element is for the most part absent, probably because Ghirlandaio worked as a decorator who was more concerned with the proper distribution of his design in the allotted space than with spiritual expression. So long as his effect was impressive little else mattered. It may be that action was beyond him. Much more compelling are the distinguished portraits of Ghirlandaio's contemporaries, gathered usually in the foreground. If Domenico Ghirlandaio is the most majestic and probably able *frescante* of his generation, it is largely because of his stately setting and type.

That he was not interested in action is not to his discredit. He merely found his pleasure in the decorative side, and, one should add, in portraiture.

We have already observed certain points of resemblance between Ghirlandaio and Gozzoli. Paradoxical as it may seem, in his mature art he suggests Raphael. Like the latter painter he works in a spacious way, primarily concerned with the decorative design, and, like the latter, he gives to his excellent portraits that air of distinction which marks the art of the High Renaissance. Like Raphael, too, Ghirlandaio is more at ease when handling vast wall spaces, and if it is true that he once said to his brother, Ridolfo, that his one regret was that he had

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never been given the commission to fresco the encircling city walls of Florence, it merely bears out the truth of the statement that he, like Sanzio, worked in a magnificent way. Even as early as the Sta. Fina frescoes he paints with a distinct consciousness of the value of spacious, organic composition.



Sta. Maria Novella, Florence

Alinari

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO: "MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN"

Contrasted with Botticelli and Leonardo he seems pathetically prosaic. He records what he sees around him accurately. To that degree he becomes a portrait painter of power, reproducing the likenesses of his acquaintances with the fidelity of a northerner.

In a word Ghirlandaio is a sure, swift artist, awake to the progress of his time, tirelessly industrious, alert to the effect of orderliness in decoration, and easy of manner. He gave dignity to Florentine art. He opened the eyes

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of artists to the value of impressive effects. His influence must have been great. Without him it is difficult to imagine the fine decorations of Raphael; and to him Michelangelo, his pupil, owed the command over fresco-painting which made possible the vast undertaking of the Sistine ceiling.

CHAPTER VIII

The Idealists of the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century

ONE of the faults of the scientific school was that it was in danger of forgetting the ideal in the search for the real. Doing that, it was bound to run into a cul-de-sac. It was fortunate, therefore, that when Pollaiuolo had said about the last word in the matter of anatomical investigation and others had penetrated the secrets of perspective, space, and chiaroscuro, a genius should appear who looked beyond these technical facts into the realm of idealism.

Leonardo da Vinci

This was Leonardo da Vinci. Where others recorded facts he interpreted nature as a poet. From the earlier idealists he differed in being perfectly equipped with a scientific mind of unequaled universality.

We learn from a contemporary biographer that his spirit never rested and that his curiosity ever drove him on to the investigation of new subjects. In fact an examination of the Leonardesque manuscripts and traditions might easily lead us to consider him less of an artist and more of a scientist. For example, when he was in Florence in 1501 and should have been occupied with



Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Milan

LEONARDO DA VINCI: "THE LAST SUPPER"

Brogi

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the painting of a portrait of Isabella d'Este, he had no patience with painting because of interest in his studies in the field of geometry; and later, in Rome, he recorded with evident satisfaction that "on July ninth at eleven o'clock at night" he had finished a treatise on that subject. Some years afterward, when he was in Milan, he noted that "this winter of 1510 I must finish all this anatomy."

But other things drew him away from painting. He investigated physiology, botany, geology, optics, mechanics, acoustics, astronomy and physics. He was a skilled musician. Unlike most other painters who created their pictures only on the occasion of receiving a commission, Leonardo frequently busied himself with artistic problems, purely as intellectual exercises, long before the particular order to paint came to him. Thus studies for the "Last Supper" were begun many years before the execution of the actual picture. The "Adoration," a work of his maturity, seems to have been started in his early years as an "Adoration of the Shepherds."

Leonardo, the illegitimate son of a notary to the Signory of Florence, was born in the neighboring town of Vinci in 1452. Most of his life was spent in the two cities of Florence and Milan. He died in France in the employ of Francis I, May 2, 1519. Rome, which he seems not to have visited until his old age, when he was no longer impressionable, had little effect upon him.

How early he evinced talent is a question; but the existence of an attractive pen sketch of a river valley, dated 1473, shows that at the age of twenty-one he was a master draughtsman. If it also is true that the attractive "Annunciation" of the Louvre belongs, as some

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believe, as early as 1470, we have a boy of eighteen working with the skill which would do credit to a much older man; and if the "Jerome" of the Vatican antedates even this work, we have a still earlier manifestation of the ability of precocious genius.

Leonardo was about thirteen when he entered Verrocchio's studio, and, as we know him from his later life, he must have found the inquisitive spirit of the place much to his liking. There, undoubtedly, he developed the habit of scientific investigation, came to an intimate acquaintance with anatomy and acquired a careful style in drawing. Whether it was here also that he learned the importance of drawing draped figures first in the nude as he later did in the "Adoration of the Kings," we may not say, but it was the place of his apprenticeship. It was at this time that he came to know Lorenzo di Credi and Perugino and the work of Piero della Francesca; and these contacts had much to do with his development as a draughtsman and his familiarity with *chiaroscuro*. Yet even then he had his own personality, if we may believe that he had a hand in Verrocchio's "Baptism of Christ." Vasari vouches for this and it must be added that the nearer angel has the delicately outlined face which is commonly designated as *Leonardesque*. Even the background with its soft mystery seems to forecast the idealized quality of that in the "Mona Lisa." As early as this Leonardo shows that elusive delicacy which afterward crowns his art.

By 1482, when he went to Milan, Leonardo was a seasoned artist. It remained only for him to perfect those qualities which he had displayed in his Florentine period. It makes little difference whether his going to

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Milan was due to the contract for an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza or merely because Lorenzo de' Medici had sent him thither with a lute for Ludovico; there he



National Gallery, London

Anderson

LEONARDO DA VINCI: "MADONNA OF
THE ROCKS"

remained for seventeen years. There he was the darling of the Court, Master of Revels, maker of mechanical toys for the princely children, and the sculptor of Francesco's statue. There, in an entirely different mood, he built a

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dam across the Po, reconstructed the fortifications of the city, and improved upon the battering-ram then in use. He also experimented with flying-machines.

But for various reasons princes are sometimes tardy in payment, so that from time to time Leonardo found it more profitable to work for others than the ruling house of Milan. Unfortunately only three paintings so executed have been preserved—the famous “Last Supper” and the two versions of the “Madonna of the Rocks.” Nevertheless these completely record the artist’s achievement at the time of his ripe maturity.

The two versions of the “Madonna of the Rocks” illustrate perfectly Leonardo’s ever-present desire to improve. In the earlier picture, that of the Louvre, he had so disposed his figures that there is a too obvious repetition of accents in the head of the child and the two hands of the angel and Mary raised over the infant Jesus. Therefore in the second example in the National Gallery the angel’s hand disappears behind the child.

Early in 1498 Leonardo finished his “Last Supper.” In it he broke the monotony of earlier treatments by arranging his actors as groups which, by telling gesture and emotional reactions, are united into a meaningful, coherent whole. With the same thoughtful feeling for organization he arranged with such seeming naturalness the figures of Anne, Mary and Child painted in the same ripe period with the “Last Supper.” The compositional perfection of these works came as the result of years of insatiate study. They have in them the misleading ease of genius seen in Raphael’s best designs.

It was probably at Milan that Leonardo became conscious of the importance of subtlety in light and shade—

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of the need of a more elusive treatment than was known to the Florentines. Just as acquaintanceship with Marc Antonio della Torre, professor of anatomy at Pavia, had led our valiant artist in 1489 to begin his treatise on anatomy, apparently his contract with the Milanese painters so impressed him with the importance of fine *chiaroscuro* that forthwith, upon the heels of his anatomical work, he began to write upon the problem of light and shade in painting. No longer was his *chiaroscuro* marred by abrupt changes like counties on a map. He now felt that they must fade into each other as elusively as smoke dissipates into thin air.

Leonardo's facility as a draughtsman and his marvelous delicacy in the manipulation of light and shade made him capable of subtle portraiture. So it was only natural that, when he was on his way to Venice, after the fall of Ludovic Sforza, Isabella d'Este should wish Leonardo to paint her likeness.

His power of character interpretation is most completely manifested in the famous "*Mona Lisa*," finished probably in 1500. Vasari tells how the artist worked for four years upon the picture only to leave it, like most of his productions, unfinished. If true, this means only that it was unfinished from the point of view of Leonardo, whose never-satisfied longing for perfection made him regard all of his work as incomplete. As it now stands, in spite of certain repainting of the face, it is one of the most complete expressions of the painter's art we have.

Thought is shown in every part of the picture—from the harmony of the fairyland quality of the landscape and the baffling expression of the face, to the telling contrast of wrinkled sleeve with smoothly beautiful hands. Much

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has been said of the irritating mystery of the face; but whatever its effects, the impression it produces is due to the remarkable subtlety of the manipulation of the sur-



Louvre, Paris

Alinari

LEONARDO DA VINCI: "MONA LISA"

faces. Like it or not, as you please, the portrait is a most sympathetic realization of character. The stir it created when finished is hinted at by the fact that young Raphael, fresh in Florence, adapted from it when he painted his Umbrian likeness of Maddalena Doni.

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In 1503 the Florentine authorities gave to Michelangelo and Leonardo each a commission for a painting to decorate the walls of the Sala del Consiglio Grande in the Palazzo della Signoria. Possibly it was felt that a competition would spur the artists to their best. With his love of the nude Michelangelo created his "Bathing Soldiers," as a detail of the "Battle of Pisa;" Leonardo did the "Battle for the Standard," as part of the "Battle of Anghiari." When, two years later, the two cartoons were placed on exhibition, crowds flocked to see them.

Leonardo's long years at Milan, spent in preparing for his equestrian statue for Ludovico Sforza, had given him innumerable sketches of the horse in every conceivable position. He therefore naturally chose a subject wherein the horse figures largely. His cartoon is lost and we must gain our knowledge of it from copies, and particularly from that by Rubens, now in the Louvre. In this Leonardo shows himself as much the painter of fury as of most subtle interpretations of gentleness.

Leonardo has so many facets that in studying him we are apt to be bewildered by the light from them. From his multitudinous interests it is difficult to say whether he should be regarded chiefly as a scientist, an engineer, an inventor, a philosopher, a sculptor, or a painter. In fact, the remarkable document which the artist sent to Ludovico in the early eighties when seeking employment with that prince would imply that Leonardo looked upon himself as first an engineer and then a sculptor and painter; and the ease with which he dropped his art to plunge into the abstractions of science seems to confirm this. Yet to our confusion Leonardo took himself so seriously as an artist as to write his treatise on painting.

Throughout his life he was interested in landscape and his investigations in the realms of perspective and atmosphere, combined with his power of generalization, unquestionably helped to inaugurate the modern school of landscape painting. In drawing he was a master; but there were others in the Renaissance who rivaled him in that matter, so that it is not especially in this field that he is a compelling force.

In the study of *chiaroscuro*, however, as it expresses itself in imperceptible gradation from brilliant light to deeper shadow, he exerted a remarkable influence. *Chiaroscuro*, as he conceived it, was unknown in Florence and to a certain degree was never handled in that city with his bravura. But elsewhere in Italy, strikingly in the work of Correggio, we see this art carried to ultimate perfection. In Milan he had a host of imitators.

Leonardo's purpose first and last was the interpretation of man and nature. The naturalists treated the human being as a fact to be expressed by accurate presentation of external forms, and as a result felt that they had attained their goal when the mask or chrysalis of the human form was faithfully reproduced on canvas or panel. Leonardo, who at heart was a realist in that he desired to understand most thoroughly the innermost secrets of man and nature, superimposed upon this realism an idealism which changed his work from gross actuality to a sublimation of fact. His art was interpretative. It searched for the soul of things and by the agency of realism sought to express that soul. All phases of human emotion, therefore, were his field of exploration. Polaiuolo is at his best in the expression of brutish force, and Angelico most successful in the display of spiritual

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exaltation. Leonardo, on the other hand, could realize a placid state of mind, and at the same time a condition of highly stimulated spiritual emotion, or downright ferocity.

Botticelli

The artist who best expresses the idealistic spirit of the second half of the fifteenth century in Florence is Alessandro Filipepi, commonly known as Sandro Botticelli. He was the son of a tanner named Filipepi, was born between March 25, 1444, and 1445, and for some reason at an early age was put under the care of his elder brother, Giovanni, a broker, who bore the nickname of Botticelli or "little cask."

Vasari tells us that as a boy Sandro was apprenticed to a goldsmith to learn what at that time was a lucrative art in Florence. Now, his own brother, Antonio, followed that craft and it may well have been the latter who gave the boy his first lessons in art. But apparently he soon found this work uncongenial, for, probably no later than 1459, he appears as an apprentice of Filippo Lippi. He was also a helper of Verrocchio.

We do not know how long Botticelli stayed with Filippo. At all events, by the time the latter left for Spoleto, in 1468, he seems to have been an independent painter. In the next year we find him in Florence a successful competitor with the Pollaiuoli in the figure of "Fortitude" for the Mercanzia. From Antonio possibly he took over the wearied look and swift movement which characterize the elder artist's work. That Botticelli should have fallen under the spell of Antonio Pollaiuolo is not surprising, since all Florence then felt his influence.



Uffizi, Florence

BOTTICELLI: "PRIMAVERA"

Alinari

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At first the younger painter falls in technique below the elder, but in the expression of a finer sense of beauty and in a lesser tendency toward overaccentuation he rises superior to Antonio. He moved rapidly to the consummation of his own refined art wherein yearning, grace, and tenderness play a large part. Then nothing remains of the teaching of Filippo Lippi.

All this comes out in the "Primavera" which he produced possibly as early as 1475 and at the latest in 1478. The great canvas was painted for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici to be hung in the villa of Castello. It belongs to that remarkable group of classical subjects which Botticelli interpreted in the humanistic mode of the Renaissance.

The picture is idyllic, fanciful, and filled with delightful whimsy. It is conceived as a decoration. Thus in the drapery truth is sacrificed generally for beautiful line. To see how the pattern of his design was uppermost in the artist's mind you have only to follow the beautifully rhythmic line resulting from the cadenced movement of the Graces' lovely arms, or to look at the lace-like tracery of the leaves thrown against the horizon on either side of Venus' head. Much of the movement, as the fluttering touch of the Graces' interlocked fingers or the sudden bend of Flora's wrist, borders on affectation; but the affectation is intentional—looking toward a delicate lightness of movement and graceful line.

On October 27, 1481, in company with Cosimo Roselli, Perugino, and Ghirlandaio, Botticelli signed a contract to decorate the walls of the Sistine Chapel, and from the fact that he was placed in charge of the work, it is certain that his reputation was more than local. His own

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contribution to the series of frescoes consists of the figures of the popes between the windows and three large pictures based upon themes taken from the Old and the New Testaments.

Such a style of painting, which demands impressiveness, is unsuited to Botticelli. In attempting it he was led away from his own mode of expression by Ghirlandaio, whose grand serenity makes up for action.

He is much more himself when he paints that type of womanhood whose figure is somewhat accentuatedly slender, whose hands, moving with a light, even affected, movement seem to flutter over the object touched. The face, delicate in its oval, suggests a sapped vitality or at least a fatigue which seems to be the sequence of exhausted emotion—and, at that, not a satisfied emotion but one conscious of its ever unattained satiation. No artist of the Renaissance has mirrored in the faces of his figures such infinite pathos.

Throughout his career Botticelli moved steadily away from the realists into the field of abstract idealism. At the start he had been grounded in the elements of the naturalistic style by the worldly Filippo, had been taught the secrets of anatomical construction by Pollaiuolo and the science of portraiture by Ghirlandaio. But naturalism, academic accuracy in anatomy, and interest in portraiture he cast aside in his effort to express ideal beauty. Of this he had hinted in the "*Primavera*." The suggestion there given he developed perfectly in the "*Birth of Venus*."

In this great picture, so complete a statement of the humanistic mood of the Renaissance, Botticelli casts off the last tie uniting him to reality and passes into a realm



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

BOTTICELLI: "BIRTH OF VENUS"

where interest in line is dominant. There are faint reminiscences of the "Primavera" in the thicket at the right and in the lightly moving nymph whose whipping skirt and flowered dress remind one of the figure of Spring.

The last decade of the century found Florence thoroughly aroused by the fiery Savonarola from its complacent, humanistic Christianity to a tearful realization of the need of expiation. During these years many an artist turned aside from pagan subjects to exclusively religious themes, and some, like Baccio della Porta, took the habit of some religious order. While Botticelli does not seem to have gone so far as to participate in the Burning of the Vanities, nevertheless his mystic and somewhat melancholy mental state made him an instant sympathizer with Savonarola's views.

In the last decade of his life he withdrew from society

a misanthrope and with no taste for his past art. His vision seems to have turned toward the contemplation of things of the soul, and his tormented mind found solace in the study of Dante's great Comedy. To the illustration of this he devoted his last years, revealing in many of the drawings the complete evolution of his mystic temperament.

Although in his time Botticelli was so dominant a figure in Florence that there arose around him a group of painters, pupils, and imitators, whose work is either close to his or exaggerations of his mannerisms, this distinguished artist received scant attention in the succeeding centuries. The reason is not far to seek. The Italian art public, taking a continually greater interest in the obvious, found pleasure in the more easily comprehended accuracies of chiaroscuro, perspective, and academically correct anatomy rather than in an art which demanded of the spectator an exercise of his meditative powers.

To a degree Sandro Botticelli may be called mediæval so far as he represents an exaltation of the soul which seeks to penetrate into the mysteries of life and draws apart from the world for meditation. In certain aspects his art and that of Fra Angelico have many points in common. Both were decidedly spiritual in character, the earlier expressing itself in a happy childish exaltation, the later revealing itself quite as much as the work of a visionary, but with the difference that Botticelli's mind, which was brooding and melancholy, voiced itself in a contemplative wistfulness. Both men were awake to the advances which were being made by contemporary art.

Belonging to the idealistic school, Botticelli acted as a wholesome corrective to the realistic tendency of his age.

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His value was appreciated by his contemporaries, as we know from Leonardo's respectful reference to him, as well as from his influence upon the art of his day. Even the ultra-modern Vasari regarded him as the best painter in Florence in the seventies of the fifteenth century.

To moderns his appeal is intellectual. Possessing the technical skill in drawing displayed by his contemporaries, familiar with the laws of perspective, a master of portraiture, to these more or less acquired gifts he added a peculiarly acute sense of the beauty inherent in gracefully springing lines, an intuitive appreciation of light, easy motion and, above all, a compelling dramatic power that expresses itself in a subdued wistfulness which seems to imply the consciousness of a spiritual happiness never to be attained.

In his types Botticelli is a fusion of the influences which impinged upon him from his teachers Lippi and Pollaiuolo. From the *frate* he acquired the delicate type of womanhood which Lippi himself perpetuated from the mediæval school, while from Pollaiuolo he derived that marked accentuation of the bony structure which expresses itself in high cheek bones, somewhat hollow cheeks, and distinctly articulated joints. But these characteristics blend under his own inspiration into a gracefully moving, tenderly maternal or virginal type which possesses exquisite grace and lightness.

The poet in Botticelli, which impelled him to analyze his emotions and to brood over things of the spirit, led him simultaneously to think of the decorative character of his work. So keen is he for the pattern of his design that he forces into the background whatever interest he may have had in the plastic quality of his figures. Not

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a gifted colorist, he so used his pigment as to enhance the decorative property of his pictures.

His influence was beneficial to Florentine art. It reminded a too facile technique, interested in obvious reality, that matters pertaining to the soul are as much a part of this life as the facts around us. At the same time his influence was attended by injury for the weaker ones who missed his idealism and saw only its physical expression in saddened visage or graceful motion. Such men soon degraded his art into mincing affectation.

Filippino Lippi

Botticelli's idealism and love of beautiful line and grace continued, somewhat modified, in the work of his pupil, Filippino Lippi. He was born in 1457. Since his father died when the boy was only twelve years old, the direct instruction that he received from his father must have been fairly limited. Probably as early as 1471 he was put under the instruction of Botticelli. How long he remained with him we do not know, but at all events within ten years he was producing work which in some instances ranked fairly well with his teacher's.

He must have established his reputation as a painter at a comparatively early date, because in 1482 he was invited to work in the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence on the same terms that had been offered to the seasoned painter, Perugino, and in 1484, on the recommendation of Lorenzo de' Medici, he was entrusted with the completion of the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel left unfinished by Masaccio. His rise to popularity was rapid. By the eighties he stood among the great artists of the

IDEALISTS OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY

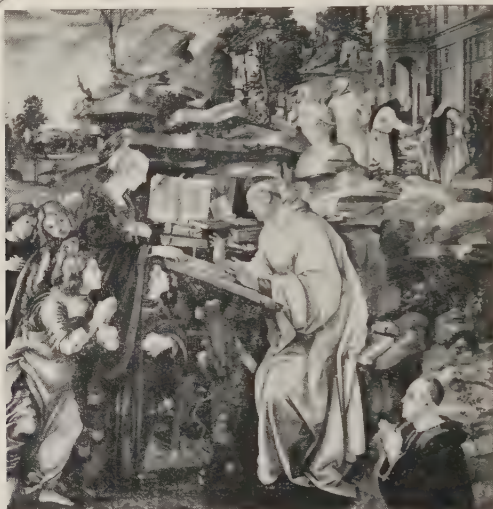
day, was invited to the court of Hungary, was charged with the painting of the frescoes in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, in Rome, and, in addition to numerous lesser commissions, executed the decorations in the Strozzi Chapel of Sta. Maria Novella. The soundness of his judgment is attested by his election in 1497 to a committee which valued Baldovinetti's frescoes in the Trinita, by his serving with other artists on a committee in 1498 to determine the repairs necessary in the lantern of the Duomo, and in 1500 by being a member of the committee chosen to locate Michelangelo's "David."

Filippino's earliest works show the influence of Botticelli and, to a degree, of his father. But the latter's influence must have come largely through Botticelli. At the same time it must be remembered that an artist as impressionable as Filippino unquestionably felt the force of other contemporary Florentine painters. Prominent among these would be Verrocchio, Leonardo, and Antonio Pollaiuolo. In the study of his early work, therefore, it is not always easy to decide to whom he is most indebted for this or that characteristic. It is even possible that those sculptors of the Florentine school, interested in grace and the study of childhood—as, for example, Luca della Robbia, Desiderio, and Benedetto da Maiano—may have contributed to his style.

It was only natural that, at the start, Filippino should model his madonnas and angels upon his father's types. But, by 1488 at the latest, when he did his lovely "Vision of St. Bernard," Filippo's influence yields to Botticelli's. Still a comparatively young man, Filippino then executed a masterpiece comparable with those of the better painters of the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

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Perhaps never in the history of Italian painting has the expression of spiritual emotion been better portrayed than in this figure of the enraptured Bernard; and rarely has the feeling of gentle solicitude been so perfectly represented as it is in the person of Mary. The picture has



Badia, Florence

Alinari

FILIPPINO LIPPI: "VISION OF ST.
BERNARD"

the refinement and grace which are the essential characteristics of Filippino at his best. The wistful yearning of Botticelli passes into more poignant emotion.

Unfortunately Filippino's quiet idealism soon gave place to an agitated style which sought for dramatic effects and out-and-out realism. He had for a moment approached an heroic effect when he completed Masaccio's Brancacci frescoes in 1484; but this mood did not last.

IDEALISTS OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The change was occasioned by the same force which compelled Botticelli at times to compete with the realists. Against this pressure, which was leading most painters into realism, Filippino seems less able than his teacher to maintain his personality.



Strozzi Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence Alinari

FILIPPINO LIPPI: "RAISING OF DRUSIANA"

His stay in Rome, where in the years 1488-1493 he painted in the Caraffa Chapel of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, had a great deal to do with this change. Like Botticelli and many another artist, when brought face to face with the buildings of the Holy City, Filippino saw the possibilities they offered to one who desired above all things to obtain an impressive effect.

Returning to Florence, he decorated the Strozzi Chapel of Sta. Maria Novella with a series of frescoes in which

he reached the limit of exaggeration. Here he began to work as early as 1487 and, after interruption, finished by 1501. The frescoes deal with incidents in the lives of John the Evangelist and Saint Philip. In the "Raising of Drusiana" the background is loaded with the classical material which Filippino had so assiduously studied in Rome. The figures, because of an exaggerated realism, at times are almost grotesque. Yet there are beautiful types as well as excellent painting. Such is to be seen in the bare-shouldered woman in the group at the right of the picture.

The chapel arouses the feeling that a remarkable draughtsmanship and otherwise able technique have been wasted in an effort to be impressive. This Filippino never is. He is not a master mural painter. His glory is his altarpieces; more specifically those which are tenderly devotional.

When most himself Filippino is full of charm and spirituality. His religious emotion is perhaps deeper than Botticelli's; in portraiture he stands among the best painters of his day. Like Raphael he was markedly assimilative. But he lacks the latter's power and threw over what was his best to compete with others in a more impressive style than was possible for him. Herein he failed. In striving for impressiveness he got only exaggeration. Technically he was skillful and facile. His color is much more delicate than that of Botticelli, his teacher. As a landscape painter he ranks high. Less abstractly ideal than Leonardo in this field he suggests the romanticism of Giorgione. His interest in nature is marked and wherever the opportunity presented itself he introduced bits of scenery of truly poetic feeling.

CHAPTER IX

The Grandiose Style in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century

WE have seen two phases of artistic expression come to full development in the history of Florentine painting; the one, idealistic, searching for abstract beauty, the other, realistic, stressing the reality of visible form. By a coalescing of these a third form of painting evolved which may be called grandiose. It aimed at the expression of lofty idealism in imposing form, and reached its perfection in Raphael and Michelangelo.

Fra Bartolommeo

The transition from the idealistic to the grandiose is seen in the work of Baccio della Porta, better known as Fra Bartolommeo, who was born in 1476 and died in 1517. At the age of nine he was apprenticed to Cosimo Roselli. From him he learned the rudiments of his art, and with him he studied probably until about 1490. Then he entered into a partnership with another young painter, Albertinelli, who likewise had been a student in Roselli's workshop. During these years, according to Vasari, he became acquainted with the art of Masaccio, Filippino, and Leonardo.

A few years later he became one of the devoted follow-

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ers of Savonarola, and at the Burning of the Vanities cast his own studies of the nude and pagan subjects on the fire. Deeply affected by the death of the great leader, he entered the Dominican order as Fra Bartolommeo in 1500. For a period of about four years he seems to have laid aside the brush. After that he was continually occupied in painting. In 1508 he visited Venice where his



Pitti, Florence

Alinari

FRA BARTOLOMMEO: "DEPOSITION"

color was influenced by the painters of the Lagoon and upon his return reorganized the studio in the Convent of St. Mark, and to improve its output obtained the services of his old friend, Albertinelli. This partnership between Albertinelli and the convent lasted until 1512. Two years later Fra Bartolommeo visited Rome where he was affected by Michelangelo.

In the course of his life the painter was exposed to

THE GRANDIOSE STYLE

several forces which left their imprint upon his style. Cosimo Roselli made little impression upon him. On the other hand, visits to the Carmine showed him Masaccio's grandeur and Filippino's facility, while acquaintance with Leonardo taught him the secrets of color and chiaroscuro. Later, probably upon the occasion of Raphael's second visit to Florence in 1506, he obtained from the Umbrian a knowledge of perspective and a quality of grace. In return he gave to the latter suggestions in the matter of composition.

In a measure his style is summed up in one of his most satisfactory altarpieces—the "Deposition" of the Pitti. If it lacks something of his usual dispassionate grandeur, it substitutes for that a deep spiritual emotion. Yet this interest in spirituality has not obscured the need of careful composition. Never has Fra Bartolommeo been more learned in his anatomy nor more skilled in the use of light.

In his beginnings Fra Bartolommeo attaches to the idealistic school of Leonardo and Filippino. From it he took the appealing type which is happily expressed in his devotional paintings. But where the members of the idealistic group, not barring Leonardo, failed to sympathize with the more dispassionately impressive style, he was drawn toward the imposingly statuesque in painting. Hither perhaps he may have been led by Michelangelo; but, unlike the latter, he kept the meditative quality which we usually associate with Raphael's more Umbrian mood.

Yet more than mood recommends Bartolommeo as an important figure in Italian painting. He had that feeling for composition which enabled him to move easily for-

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ward to a large style. He had, too, an exceptionally sensitive appreciation of color and that, added to his knowledge of composition, make him well fitted to prepare the way for the imposing style which follows.

His range is not wide. While Raphael and Michelangelo—to say nothing of lesser men—adventured beyond the limits of religion, Fra Bartolommeo, once controlled by the spirit of Savonarola, confined himself entirely to the representation of sacred themes and particularly those of a quiet sort. Personal types were bound to appear among his figures, but never did he, like Ghirlandaio, use his pictures to display his ability to paint portraits. Only in one respect does he permit a personal predilection to obtrude. This is in the searching for an imposing effect through a careful adjustment of parts and lines. Although he loved stateliness both in figures and in architectural setting, interest in composition does not submerge his religious feeling.

Fra Bartolommeo falls just short of genius. But his excellent technique, his realization of the value of composition and his interest in the grand style made it possible for a master like Raphael to carry his manner on to perfection. He links to the old and the new, preserving the devotional quality of the fifteenth century, shown by Raphael in his earlier work, and exhibiting the fine decorative sense that becomes the keynote of the sixteenth century.

Andrea del Sarto

Notable among the other painters who were affected by the same forces which impelled Fra Bartolommeo in the direction of an heroic style is Andrea del Sarto. Born

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in 1486, three years later than Raphael, and eleven after the birth of Michelangelo, he saw the art of Florence pass through the last stages of its development toward the heroic manner of the sixteenth century. Though, like many another painter of Florence, he began his training as a goldsmith, it is doubtful if the short time so spent affected his style.

His real training began at the age of ten when he became an apprentice of Piero di Cosimo. Yet from this painter he derived apparently little that remained by him. Occasionally his early works show bits of the cheerful type of landscape peculiar to Cosimo. Probably credit for the formation of his style, so far as credit is due to any artist, ought to be given to the great men, Masaccio, Michelangelo, and Leonardo, whose works were easily accessible in Florence.

Andrea reached the perfection of his art as a *frescante* in the "Birth of the Virgin" in the Annunziata, completed in 1514. In painting this fine fresco he had in mind the same subject done by Domenico Ghirlandaio in Sta. Maria Novella; and in dignity Andrea's work compares well with the latter's. In fact, where there are certain lapses in continuity of design in Domenico's fresco, there is nothing of the sort in del Sarto's. Compared with Ghirlandaio's forms, Andrea's are fuller and more sensuous. They hint of the type that the artist eventually developed. Possibly these full types were inspired by a study of Fra Bartolommeo; but if so, the sensuous quality is Andrea's own contribution. Like Bartolommeo, Andrea del Sarto here realizes the importance of ample drapery. The folds, however, are not as billowing as Bartolommeo's. The subtle fusion of light and shade in this fresco Andrea

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borrowed from Leonardo, without permitting this characteristic to prevent the impressive contrast of light and shadow by which the artist models his figures and gets notable atmospheric effects and spacious depth.



Annunziata, Florence

Alinari

ANDREA DEL SARTO: "BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN"

While thus in his frescoes Andrea was developing as a draughtsman and a manipulator of chiaroscuro, in his panel paintings he was rapidly moving toward that misty fusion of color and light which contributes so much to the conspicuous beauty of his work. This quality is best

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seen in the "Madonna of the Harpies"—so called from the figures that crouch at the corners of the pedestal upon which Mary stands. The light is so softly shed over the forms that, while every part which stands forth from the



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

ANDREA DEL SARTO: "MADONNA OF THE HARPIES"

shadow is correctly seen by the spectator, its outlines disappear so subtly into the shadows that the painting is enveloped in mystery.

Late in May of 1518, Andrea set out for France to enter the service of Francis I. There he stayed until

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October, 1519, when, owing to disturbing letters from his wife, he returned home never again to enter the employ of his royal patron. In this short period belongs one of the finest works of his whole career—the “Charity” of the Louvre. The composition shows Andrea under the spell of Michelangelo from whom he took the general method of building up his group. The movement and the heroic character of his figures likewise come from the same source.

In 1519 Andrea del Sarto was back in Florence, soon repentant of his withdrawal from France. To reestablish himself in Francis’ favor he painted several pictures which he intended to send to the king. Whether they were ever dispatched or not we do not know. But del Sarto himself never returned to France. He died in 1531.

In the matter of composition Andrea as a rule shows the influence of Michelangelo and Fra Bartolommeo.

As a craftsman he stands among his contemporaries almost without a peer. His power as a draughtsman is so great that he has been well described as “the faultless painter.” It is in fact a misfortune that he found it so simple a matter to draw, for, as time went on, the ease with which he rendered made him at the close of his life tend toward an academic style in which the forms are coldly correct. This power was accompanied by a very delicately organized color sense. In his best productions is a vaporous transparency suggestive of Correggio’s work.

His success depends largely upon the power to represent his scenes with a suave restraint. As a result his work is always dignified and easy even if it lacks the power of spiritual stimulation. He is grandiose without being

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exaggerated. He is preëminent in fresco, in which he is undoubtedly the best painter—at least in central Italy. Only toward the close of his life does he tend to be mannered.

Andrea del Sarto's derivation is in part from Leonardo, Ghirlandaio, Fra Bartolommeo, and Michelangelo, but in the main he is himself. His influence was extensive. Among his pupils may be mentioned Pontormo and Vasari.

CHAPTER X

The Grandiose Style Continued: Raphael

ALL those qualities which Leonardo, Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto had contributed to the art of painting, that is, poetic interpretation of nature, the expression of character, grandeur, color, and mastery of draughtsmanship, yet remained to be gathered together into one personality—Raphael.

Each of these men had contributed certain qualities which reflect the spirit of the Renaissance, but they lacked the breadth, suavity, and force which make the Urbinate the perfect expression of the spirit of his time. As impressionable as any artist we have yet studied and as willing to appropriate what was best in those with whom he came in contact, Raphael also had the strength which goes with genius, so that while he willingly accepted from others, he never bartered his own personality for that of any one else.

Of his boyhood we know very little. But since his father, Giovanni Santi, died in 1494, when Raphael was only eleven, it is not likely that he learned much from his parent. The first teacher who exerted any marked influence upon him is Perugino. With him he may have been apprenticed as early as 1495—at the latest in 1500. He may have studied with his own townsman Timoteo Viti before going to Perugino. But that is not proved. Raphael's acceptance of Perugino's style was frank. It

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penetrated so deeply into his own that even after he left Umbria for Tuscany it remained in his art as a kind of Umbrian sweetness.

But it was bound to happen that after he had exhausted Perugino's resources this young painter should wish to go to the great art center of Italy—Florence. Thither, in fact, he repaired in 1504, armed with a letter of introduction from the Duchess of Urbino to Soderini, *Gonfaloniere* of Florence. Possibly his desire to go to this city was deepened by the report that had spread abroad of the cartoons of the "Battle for the Standard" and the "Bathing Soldiers," exhibited at that time by Leonardo and Michelangelo.

One can easily understand how bracing to the young artist must have been the change from Urbino and Perugia to Florence. At once he set himself the task of assimilating as much of the good of the place as he could. We know that he studied Leonardo, and we also know that before long he made the acquaintance of Fra Bartolommeo, from whom he learned much in the way of composition.

From Donatello's works he made sketches, and to him as well as to Antonio Pollaiuolo he owed the awakened consciousness of the importance of the study of the nude figure. His stay at Florence meant the superimposition of the science of painting upon the sweeter piety of Umbria.

Raphael's development in Florence is clearly demonstrated by the sequence of madonnas which he painted while in that city. Starting with as simple a triangular composition as that of the pensively Umbrian "Madonna del Gran Duca," he first exhausted practically every

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posture for the standing Mother and Child, and then exercised his ingenuity upon the seated group, starting with two figures and then adding the little St. John to in-



Louvre, Paris

Alinari

RAPHAEL: "LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE"

crease the compositional interest. When one has reached so perfected a type as "La Belle Jardinière," Umbrian blandness has refined into a sweet Florentine intelligence.

In these adventures with the madonna picture Raphael is working more or less independently. But there are

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other pictures in which he frankly confesses his borrowing from other painters. It may be in his portrait of Maddalena Doni, which he painted soon after his arrival in Florence, in imitation of Leonardo's "Mona Lisa," or it may be in his "Entombment of Christ," influenced by Perugino—which he finished in 1507 shortly before he left for Rome.

In some ways this is the artist's greatest work up to that time. After so thoughtful a work as the foregoing all that Raphael needed was a larger field of activity. The chance came in 1508, when he was summoned to Rome by Pope Julius II.

By then the painter had completed his apprenticeship. Literally this had ended when he left Perugia to study in Florence; but during the succeeding four years in Florence Raphael was, although an independent painter, still in the position of a student. From Perugino he had acquired a gentle, bland, and rather ineffective style, and this remained more or less his throughout his Florentine period. At the same time his figures became more intellectually vivacious. Through contact with Michelangelo, Leonardo, Ghirlandaio, Fra Bartolommeo and del Sarto he learned to appreciate the need of more learned drawing and the desirability of grander action. Gradually Umbrian conventionality retired before the more inspired action of the Florentine school. Composition now entered more thoughtfully into his work, whether it be in the single figure or the complicated group, so that by the close of his Florentine period Raphael succeeded in blending Umbrian pleasantness with the scholarly drawing, learned use of chiaroscuro, grand movement, and impressive composition of Florence.

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The young painter's first task in Rome was the decoration of the Camera della Segnatura in the Vatican. By 1511 he had finished the room with two frescoes to his credit—the "Dispute of the Holy Sacrament" and the "School of Athens." All that he had learned at Florence in the way of expressive gesture, coherent composition, and monumental background he put into practice in these,



Vatican, Rome

Alinari

RAPHAEL: "SCHOOL OF ATHENS"

his as yet two greatest achievements in mural painting. In three short years Raphael had lifted himself from the position of a more or less unrecognized artist to a place which left him with no serious rival except Michelangelo.

In passing to the next room Raphael modified, with an increase of dramatic force, his compositional arrange-

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ment. In the "Disputa" and the "School of Athens" he had maintained the regular bi-symmetrical scheme. In the "Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple," in the next room, he moved the center of interest far to one side much as Giotto did in the "Entombment of Christ" at Padua. The impressive architectural setting is still bi-symmetrically designed. But the shifting of the focal point of the action away to the right has given a remark-



Vatican, Rome

Alinari

RAPHAEL: "EXPULSION OF HELIODORUS FROM THE TEMPLE"

able sense of movement to the picture. That point is marked by the furious, charging angel and the overthrown Heliodorus. At the left in the huddled group is a line of ascending interest which, culminating in the figure clinging to the column, descends with a rush to the form of the discomfited Heliodorus. This contrast is further marked by the presence of the stately group of Julius and his bearers, which is set antithetically against the angels and Heliodorus.

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Raphael's success in this and the previous room was unfortunately his undoing, because the purity of his art becomes more and more clouded by the need of employing many assistants. It is better therefore to follow his career from now on in his canvases and panels. In Florence he



Pitti, Florence

Alinari

RAPHAEL: "POPE LEO X"

had given some evidence of a gift in portraiture. But it is in Rome that he claims his place as one of the world's greatest portrait painters.

Two notable likenesses stand to his credit at this time. One is the portrait of the fiery old pope, Julius, now in the Uffizi; the other is the equally amazing characterization

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of Leo X. Both are intensive yet sympathetic analyses of character. Both are nobly painted with a craft that leaves nothing to be desired in the matter of color, drawing, or modeling. With these might be placed the at-



Dresden

Braun

RAPHAEL: "SISTINE MADONNA"

tractive portrait of an unknown woman, known as the "Donna Velata," in which Raphael drew the features of his Sistine Madonna.

One might continue to accentuate the painter's perfection by reviewing his Roman experiments with the Madonna and Child picture. But it would be to review the

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same maturing of his art we have noted in his mural decorations and his portraits. The culmination is reached in his "Madonna of the Chair" and the "Sistine Madonna"; and one needs only to compare his Florentine productions, such as the "Madonna of the Grand Duke" or "La Belle Jardinière," with these two Roman works



Pitti, Florence

Alinari

RAPHAEL: "MADONNA OF THE CHAIR"

to see how far Raphael had traveled. The "Sistine Madonna," painted for the monks of San Sisto at Piacenza, is the artist's last word in this type of devotional picture. Mary has all the beauty of La Donna Velata, but this beauty is tinged with a seriousness befitting the Mother of God. The child combines the shyness of babyhood with a supernatural gaze that makes the figure the most perfect presentation of the Christ child ever painted.

RAPHAEL

With Raphael the Renaissance reached its climax. In the exhibition of titanic force, and possibly in the matter of drawing, surpassed by Michelangelo, and in the realm of color by Titian, he unites in his art many characteristics which they lacked. Beginning with an Umbrian's color sense, and combining with that, from his residence in Florence, an ability to draw and to compose, he crowned these qualities with urbanity and a fine decorative sense. From first to last he was thoughtful, meeting each new problem with remarkable ingenuity and unfailing originality. He never ceased to learn. He was willing to profit by the adventures of others.

He may often be accused of not deeply disturbing the spiritual sense. Wherefore to a certain degree he suffers in the matter of deep emotion, when compared with Michelangelo. On the other hand, his portraiture is noble; and Michelangelo did not paint portraits.

CHAPTER XI

The Grandiose Style Continued: Michelangelo

RAPHAEL'S courtly style, splendid facility, and exquisite taste perfectly represent one phase of the Renaissance. But while his fine color sense and decorative feeling satisfy æsthetically, except in his portraits he shows no sign of being disturbed by the deeper, more somber notes which, sounding as an undertone through the Renaissance, found expression in Savonarola. Raphael was distinctly of the social world and sunned himself in its pleasant glow. It is Michelangelo who voices the deeper mood of the period.

Michelangelo Buonarroti was born at Caprese, not far from Florence, on March 6, 1475. His father had gone to that town as *podestà* for the year. His earliest recorded teacher is Domenico Ghirlandaio. To the latter he was apprenticed at the age of thirteen. But he must have been already grounded in his art, for Ghirlandaio, instead of being paid for his instruction, agreed to give the boy twenty-four florins for his three years' service. From his teacher, who was one of the best *frescanti* in Florence, he undoubtedly learned the art of fresco painting which he made use of long after in decorating the Sistine ceiling.

But the boy's impulse was not toward painting. He was instinctively a sculptor and his first great opportunity came when as a mere lad, upon Ghirlandaio's recom-

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mentation, he was taken by Lorenzo de' Medici into his palace and given a chance to study sculpture. There, until the latter's death, he spent two happy years. Somewhat later he returned to the palace at the invitation of Piero. It was during this short time, which intervened until 1494, when the Medici were expelled from Florence and he fled to Venice, that Michelangelo had a chance to study anatomy. The opportunity came through the prior of S. Spirito, who allowed the youth to use one of the cells in the monastery for the dissection of human bodies. Here began that intimate knowledge of the human form which made possible the overpowering shapes which rise to one's mind in association with the name of Michelangelo.

Following the expulsion of the Medici, the artist spent the year 1494-1495 in Venice and Bologna. In the latter place he felt the influence of Jacopo della Quercia's heroic sculpture on the façade of San Petronio. After his visit to Bologna Michelangelo went almost immediately to Rome, apparently considering Florence an unsafe place for one who had been so closely associated with the unpopular Medici. He arrived in the Holy City in June, 1496.

The three years spent there mark the rise of the young artist to a recognized position in the art world. During this short period he produced his great Pietà, now in St. Peter's, the fame of which made him the artist selected in 1501 to create the giant "David" for the city of Florence.

From now on there was no question of Michelangelo's importance. So high did he stand in his city's estimation that in 1504 he was chosen to supply, in rivalry with

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Leonardo, a great cartoon for the Hall of the Palazzo della Signoria, and so masterful was his production, the "Battle of Pisa," that to see it and the "Battle for the Standard" by Leonardo artists flocked to Florence from all over Italy. To this period belongs most likely the "Holy Family" painted for Angelo Doni, who also employed the tyro Raphael to paint the portraits of himself and his wife.

Early in 1505 Michelangelo was summoned to Rome by the fiery old Pope Julius. But the stay in Rome was of short duration for, in 1506, either because of an affront which he believed he had received from the Pope, or because of some imagined fear for his life, he precipitately fled by night to Florence. Here for about six months he stayed, finishing his cartoon of the "Battle of Pisa," until, compelled by threats from the Pope, he repaired to Bologna and was reconciled with his master. There he worked steadily on a colossal statue in bronze of Julius to be placed over the door of S. Petronio as a warning to the rebellious Bolognese.

The artist's next great pictorial work after the "Battle of Pisa" is the stupendous decoration of the Sistine ceiling. This he completed in 1512, practically single-handed, after constant toil for twenty months. Then comes a long lapse of years, until 1534, when he undertook the "Last Judgment." On this great fresco, which occupies the entire altar wall of the Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo was employed until 1541. He was now an old man. Only one more pictorial work remained for him to do—the "Martyrdom of Peter" and the "Conversion of Paul" of the Pauline Chapel. Michelangelo was seventy years old when he finished.

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In following the painter from city to city some hint has been given of the influences which contributed, so far as any influences counted, to the formation of his style. Unquestionably he received his first serious training when, as a boy, he helped Ghirlandaio in the frescoes of Sta. Maria Novella. Here he acquired what dexterity he possessed in the manipulation of fresco. Possibly he is responsible for the figure seated on the steps of the "Presentation of the Virgin." Certainly it is less in the spirit of Ghirlandaio's than Michelangelo's later style.

In a study of the evolution of Michelangelo as a painter it is impossible to overestimate the influence of sculpture. He was confessedly a sculptor for whom painting approached the nearer to perfection the closer it approximated plastic form. It was for this reason that in his youth he was so deeply impressed by Masaccio's massive statuesque forms in the Brancacci Chapel. A reminiscence of them he preserved in the "Expulsion from Paradise" in the Sistine Chapel.

Except for his brief association with Ghirlandaio, Michelangelo was his own teacher. As a boy he spent his time drawing. He cultivated the companionship of young artists on every possible occasion. From these he obtained instruction—in what manner may be judged from the story which tells us that once he borrowed from Granacci a Schongauer print representing St. Anthony tormented by evil spirits, and set to work to paint a picture from the print with colors and brushes supplied by his friend. He even visited the fish market to discover unusual color effects for his devils. Probably much in the same way, that is, by copying, he learned from Ghirlandaio's drawings. His ability even then must have

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been considerable, for stories are told of his ability to copy old drawings so accurately that his own work could be substituted for the original.

In all this early apprentice period the various men whose works he studied impressed little of their personality upon the young artist. Even his great predecessor, Masaccio, did little more than strengthen in him the feeling for plastic form. At all times Michelangelo is intensely himself and his style self-developed. From the beginning he loved the human figure to the exclusion of everything else; and to understand it we find him, when hardly more than a mere boy, dissecting the human body to obtain an intimate knowledge of its mysteries. Apparently from the time he was twenty years of age he ceased to be a student except in so far as every great artist is a student throughout his life.

Save for the Sistine frescoes, there are few pictures by which Michelangelo, the painter, can be studied. Of these probably the earliest is the "Madonna and Child with Saint John and Four Angels," now in the National Gallery. It was painted when he was still Ghirlandaio's apprentice, or soon after. Then comes the doubtful "Deposition," the Doni "Holy Family," the "Bathing Soldiers," the Sistine Ceiling, the "Last Judgment," and the "Conversion of Paul." Except for the many beautiful drawings he has left, this is all.

Of this list the first two pictures are not positively his; the third is the work of a tyro still groping toward his style; and the fourth exists only in copies. These copies, however, make it clear that by 1506, when the cartoon was done, the artist had definitely determined upon the athletic, nude male as his proper medium of expression.

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All the knowledge that he had acquired by his anatomical investigations is here overwhelmingly displayed. Heralded by the artists of Italy as one of the great works of the age, the cartoon established Michelangelo's reputation once and for all. What we have lost in the original may be judged by Cellini's statement, and Cellini was capable of knowing good craftsmanship, that never again did Michelangelo rise to the heights attained in this cartoon. This assertion is all the more remarkable since the picture was not a finished painting but a cartoon on which, says Vasari, Michelangelo outlined, now with charcoal, now with fine strokes, or shaded with a stump, or relieved with white lead—in a word, he used almost every means to obtain the effects he desired. The work stands as a milestone in the artist's career. It marks the end of his apprenticeship and the inauguration of the period of his developed style.

After this the tremendous fresco of the Sistine ceiling is comprehensible. But in the face of this gigantic work it is interesting to know that he undertook the task under protest, trying to pass it on to Raphael with the declaration that painting was not his trade and that it wasted his time without results. His protests fortunately were of no avail and Pope Julius forced the artist to proceed.

Michelangelo's original intention had been to paint figures of the twelve apostles in the lunettes at the top of the walls and to fill the remaining ceiling space with conventional ornament. That scheme soon proved unsatisfactory and the whole ceiling was organized into a splendid architectonic arrangement.

While the records state that the work was initiated May 10, 1508, this probably means little more than that

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the laying of the new plaster on the ceiling was begun at this time. In fact, Michelangelo's five assistants, whom at first he intended to employ upon the task, did not arrive in Rome until after the last of July.

This does not mean that nothing was done during this period. On the contrary, Michelangelo must have expended a vast amount of labor during these months upon the preparation of his cartoons. The actual execution of the fresco could not have begun until August, or possibly later, and even what was done then has been lost because, soon finding his helpers incapable of working in the way he wished, he discharged them, destroyed what they had done, and once more began the task—this time single-handed. So rapidly did he work that by October of the next year the part covering the medial portion of the ceiling was half completed. In answer to the impatient Pope it was uncovered for public view in November. By October, 1512, the gigantic undertaking was finished.

When one remembers that the surface thus painted by one man, except probably for an assistant who may have stenciled the cartoons, covered about ten thousand square feet, and that, counting heads, there are in the decoration nearly four hundred figures, the majority ten feet in height, the titanic power of this strange artist becomes evident. On an average he completed about one figure each day; and some of these forms, if they stood erect, would be eighteen feet in height.

Already on the side walls Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, and others had represented episodes from the life of Christ and the life of Moses, whom the Church looked upon as our Saviour's parallel in the Old Testament. Michel-

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angelo, therefore, appropriately depicted on the ceiling the epic presentation of the Redemption of Man. As already noted, this was held together in a unified composition by the architectural members.

When Michelangelo began this great work he had no experience with the drawing of figures to be seen from a great distance. Therefore when he reached the panel of the Deluge, the second from the altar wall, he found the scale of his figures too small and abruptly enlarged it. This seems to have been the only mistake he made, for from that time on he worked with amazing rapidity. In the larger figures he had the outlines transferred to the plaster from his cartoon, but in the smaller ones, such as the child-forms, he depended only upon a perpendicular, painting in the forms freehand with amazing certainty.

We may dismiss as an undebatable postulate that the treatment of the ceiling is sculptural. The artist had no interest in pictorial presentation, but was intensely devoted to the plastic representation of the human form. The whole ceiling is thus a glorification of the nude human figure, and specifically of the nude male. All fortuitous detail in the background is omitted, so that the setting presents an elemental appearance suggesting the primitive simplicity of the early days of creation. The spectator is compelled to concentrate his attention on the human figures.

Michelangelo attained to the height of his art as a painter in the noble "Creation of Adam." In this heroic nude he displayed all his profound learning in the field of anatomy and united with it a remarkable realization of the spiritual motive of the event. The spectator be-



Sistine Chapel, Rome

Alinari

MICHELANGELO: "CREATION OF MAN"

holds this primevally beautiful man, the first man, already gloriously formed in the image of his Maker, slowly awakening to life at the vitalizing touch of the Almighty. The potential strength of the titanic form slowly comes to a consciousness of its power and half wonderingly Adam gazes at the God who calls him into life. The modeling of the surfaces of the muscular, yet flexible, form is caressingly subtle, giving the skin a beautiful satiny quality. The whole of this great figure was finished in three sittings.

As a fitting companion to this great Adam is Michelangelo's loveliest ideal of woman—the Eve of the "Temptation." Although heroically proportioned and fit to be the helpmate of the first man, she still moves with a

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lithesome grace. As yet the feminine nude has not become, as often in the artist's work, a male form feminized.

The same fresco shows the deep impression left upon the painter by Masaccio, for the "Expulsion" is practically a literal copy of the same subject in the Brancacci Chapel. Further reminiscences of student days appear in the "Creation of Eve," in which the arrangement of the figures goes back to Jacopo della Quercia's panel on the façade of the Cathedral at Bologna.

It is perhaps in the nudes which sit at the corners of the panels that Michelangelo assumes his most characteristic mood. They express perfectly his joy in the study of the male nude. Beautifully formed, and perfectly



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MICHELANGELO: "THE FALL AND EXPULSION"

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drawn, they are thrown into almost every possible posture which the human frame may assume. They occupy in the history of Renaissance art the same position taken in Greek art by the sculptures of the Phidian period. They are the male being glorified.

Of the same high degree of perfection are the heroic forms of the prophets and sibyls, whose impressive figures display infinite variety of position and movement.

Michelangelo's earlier easel pictures may reveal the lack of a highly developed color sense. But the later, Sistine ceiling is not without refinement of color. Although the key is not high, the rosy brown tints of the flesh and the quiet grays and purples of background and drapery give the vast fresco a restful harmony decidedly in keeping with the heroic character of the drawing and lofty impressiveness of the work. Owing to the fading of the blues, particularly in the sky, the fresco is perhaps lower in pitch than it was originally.

The technical ease displayed in this tremendous fresco is almost incomprehensible. Not only did the artist work with a furious speed which completed practically a figure a day (and these figures average about ten feet in height), but they are so learnedly drawn upon the receding vault of the ceiling that, although the upper portions of the figure are actually farther from the spectator, yet frequently they appear to be nearer.

In the arrangement of the ceiling one may question whether Michelangelo appreciated the requirements of vault painting. Certainly, measured by the standards set by Mantegna, Correggio, and his school, he did not. For, while the architectural setting does carry out logically the construction of a vault, on the other hand all the

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figures do not recede into abrupt perspective as they would, for example, in the dome paintings of Correggio, but are presented to the spectator as if spread out flat before his eye. Even the panels of the median zone of the vault are treated as if they were wall pictures seen through openings in the roof of the vault.

At the time of its completion the great fresco was the amazement and despair of the artists of the *cinquecento*. It has so continued to be since then. It is the last word of the Renaissance in the glorification of the human form, and even Michelangelo himself later failed to rise to the standard which he here set.

Many years later, in 1534, when fifty-nine years old, Michelangelo began the "Last Judgment" which now covers the whole of the altar wall of the Chapel. To obtain the space required for it three paintings by Perugino, representing the Assumption, the finding of Moses, and the Nativity, were destroyed. He finished the great fresco in 1541.

Although the work is filled with instances of masterful drawing and contains many beautiful forms, it falls below the level of the earlier work on the ceiling. It is a tremendous *tour de force* consciously displaying all the acquired learning of a long life. So cunning has become the hand of the old painter that what was stately in the vault of the Chapel now savors strongly of the academic. He appears to draw not so much from the living model as from the somewhat stereotyped forms which had become fixed in his mind. The spontaneity of youth has given place to the calculated academism of old age. If it is true, as Vasari says, that his chief concern in this tremendous fresco was the realization of the perfectly pro-



Sistine Chapel, Rome

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MICHELANGELO: "THE LAST JUDGMENT"

portioned human form projected in infinitely varied positions, to a certain degree he has succeeded.

If the standard is one of sublime dignity, the fresco is not successful. The painter has missed the spirit of the subject. Even considered as a technical achievement its stylized aspect, due to the bulking, gigantic forms and mannered drawing, places the work on a lower level than

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that of the artist's earlier pictures. As a painter Michelangelo here shows traces of decline.

Over the "Conversion of Paul" and the "Martyrdom of Peter" we need not delay. When Michelangelo painted these on the walls of the Pauline Chapel, he was an old man. He had become learnedly accurate and forced in his dramatic expression. The freshness of youth has gone.

Whatever may be one's reaction to Michelangelo the painter, as a draughtsman he must be recognized as supreme. As a *frescante* he may have had his limitations, and he certainly did as a painter in oil; but as a draughtsman his art is practically faultless. This statement applies to his treatment of the human form. The penetrating studies of his early youth, by virtue of which, through the agency of dissection, he came to know intimately the mysteries of the construction of the human body, made his drawings of the figure as nearly perfect as human hand could draw them. His many drawings show his intense curiosity in the structural character of the human form. It is easy, therefore, to understand why his drawing always realizes the truth. This same thoughtful interest he illustrates in the many studies he made of the head. Sometimes they are frankly grotesque. That these studies were more than chance notes is shown by subtle changes in which he frequently varied the expression of a single model. At times he simply indicates by surely drawn hatching; or again, by a most subtle gradation of light and shadow. In all of his drawings there is power. Compared with his, Raphael's, fine as they are, are sweetly graceful and suave. This Michelangelo never is. Even in his most softly finished figures the drawing,

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always intensely personal and illuminative, is indicative of the terrible.

That Michelangelo's drawings should be as faultless as they are is the inevitable result of his conviction that drawing is at the base of all the arts, whether it be sculpture, architecture, or painting. He expresses the creed of the Florentine school, which obtained its results primarily through design, and not, as the Venetian did, through color.

In this study of Michelangelo attention has been focused upon his painting. To a certain degree this is unfortunate for, in spite of his grandiose achievements in the Sistine ceiling, in the realm of pure painting undoubtedly he holds a secondary position. As a colorist he was undoubtedly inferior to Titian and Rubens. But, granting that, as a painter of the idealized human form—of which no other painter made a more exhaustive study—he was never surpassed.

Michelangelo presents a curious contradiction. By instinct he is realistic to the degree of particularization. This appears in his penetrating study of anatomy. He is likewise tinged with a romanticism which expresses itself in emotion. But over against these modern tendencies he is quite as interested in classic reserve and idealism of the past. Out of these apparently irreconcilable elements emerges a personal style which displays a splendid superhuman quality touched with the pathos of the human. That he never gave himself over clearly to the realistic is in part shown by the fact that he never displays interest in actual portraiture. The latter controverts idealism and he therefore threw it aside.

Michelangelo was a thorough student and an inde-

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fatigable worker. His titanic force stamped the character of his art upon his time, and because those who followed him and outlived him lacked his genius and, lacking it, mistook the forms he presented for the tremendous ideas they represented, art under the hands of those who emulated him quickly degenerated into a stupid exaggeration which, deprived of his vital force, passed easily into the baroque.

CHAPTER XII

Umbrian Painting: Its Origins

THE geography of Umbrian art is not easily fixed. It is true that it developed remarkably in the three towns of Gubbio, Foligno, and particularly Perugia; but so limited a definition of its home is obviously incorrect. Nor does it simplify matters much to speak of Umbrian art as originating and growing in the heart of Central Italy, even if this definition extends its domain to include Borgo San Sepolcro, the home of Piero della Francesca.

The fact is that the sphere of influence of Umbrian painting was much more far-reaching than this. To recognize the territory through which it spread one must push its boundaries out into the Marches and along the Adriatic littoral as far north as Rimini, Faenza, and Forlì. If this is done, the truly Umbrian centers of Fabriano, San Severino, Camerino, and Urbino are included. Even to the south, almost down to Rome, this art penetrated. Traces of its influence are found in the painters of Viterbo and Toscanella.

Nevertheless throughout this extended territory Umbrian art did not progress with the same consistency and force as it did in the more central area, the neighborhood of Gubbio, Foligno, and Perugia; and if more emphasis is laid upon these three places as the more important

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schools of Umbrian art, it is because here, and in the localities immediately affected by them, the continuity of development, or the antiquity of Umbrian art, is most easily made out.

To enumerate the schools of painting in Umbria with an exactitude which would satisfy everybody is perhaps impossible. But if we speak of schools only when there is proof of a real local development, it may not be far from right to say that in Umbria the important centers are Foligno, Gubbio, Perugia, and Urbino. In addition to these, but much less important, is San Severino, which produced only two worthy artists in Lorenzo and Jacopo da San Severino. There was also some local activity at Orvieto, Rimini, and Spoleto.

Up to the close of the thirteenth century Umbria seems to have evolved no manner distinctly its own. At that time the district, like other sections of the country, felt the impact of the style which had developed under the hands of Giotto's successors. Into Umbria came influences, certainly from Florence and Siena and possibly farther north from Germany. There are also traces of French Gothic art which made its way into Italy in the form of book illuminations and ivories. From among all these forces emerges as most important the influence of the Giotteschi. They were more often the artists who were given the preference over the poor local painters when important work was to be done.

While there is no distinctive Umbrian manner in the fourteenth century, during the first years of the next century we find traces of the beginnings of a local art. These appear earlier in northern Umbria, where from the first years of the fifteenth century the artists of Fabriano,

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Gubbio, and San Severino produced works which easily bear comparison with the finer pictures painted in Siena and Florence. In fact, with the appearance of Gentile da Fabriano and Ottaviano Nelli, who first saw the light of day perhaps in 1365, we come to artists who produced pictures unrivaled anywhere for mediæval beauty.

The first half of the fifteenth century beheld the beginnings of the true Renaissance; and Umbria, like other parts of Italy, fell under its spell. But during these fifty years hardly any notable work was created except perhaps at Gubbio. In the second half of the century come Perugino and his contemporaries who developed that bland manner which, somewhat erroneously, we have come to call the only Umbrian style. From that time well into the sixteenth century, Foligno and Perugia assume the chief place. In the first years of the sixteenth century appears the young Raphael, whose earlier works epitomize the best of Umbrian art of that time. But his stay in Umbria was short, and after him set in the decline. By the seventeenth century Umbria's day was past.

Throughout the fourteenth century and even into the first decade of the fifteenth Siena exerted a preponderating influence. From there came much of the mediæval delicacy and that tendency toward exaggerated emotion sometimes overlooked in Umbrian art, but certainly as much an expression of it as of Sienese. This connection between the two arts, plain enough in the paintings of Umbria in the fourteenth century, is affirmed by such tangible evidence as the presence of Taddeo di Bartolo in the latter district, probably for over a year, in 1404. During his stay he was very active and left behind many

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works. At Perugia his influence was dominant. Later in the century, in 1449, we know that Domenico di Bartolo was in Umbria.

We must remember that the fifteenth century did not mark the height of Sienese art. In fact, with the disappearance of Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti, about the middle of the fourteenth century, Sienese art began to stagnate. From then on the painters lived mostly upon the traditions of the past. Meanwhile during the first fifty years of this century Florentine art passed through its experimental stage and by the mid-century was emerging into a decidedly developed form. So it is easy to understand how, toward 1450, it could usurp the place of the moribund Sienese rival as the teacher of Umbrian painters.

With whom this Florentine influence first came into Umbria is not definitely known. But Benozzo Gozzoli, fresh from the teaching of Fra Angelico, did the "Madonna of the Girdle" for San Fortunato near Montefalco in 1450, and two years later created his great works in the church of St. Francis in the same town. His work at the church of St. Francis was furthermore the most extensive Florentine painting in Umbria in the fifteenth century and afforded to the Umbrian painters a fine opportunity for study.

Strange as it may seem, this artist of the second class left permanent traces of his personality in Umbria, while Fra Angelico, his teacher, who in his youth spent some eleven years in, or near, Umbria, left no impression. Filippo Lippi was in Umbria somewhat later than Gozzoli, sitting in judgment on Benedetto Bonfigli's work at Perugia, and in 1462 working in the choir of the ca-

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thedral at Spoleto. Certain of the Umbrian painters he influenced; particularly Bonfigli, his pupil.

Other Florentines found their way into Umbria in the fifteenth century, affecting, perhaps insensibly, the local artists. Notable among these was Domenico Ghirlandajo, who made frequent incursions into Umbria. In 1486 he did the "Coronation of the Virgin" at Narni, and six years later, in 1492, repaired the mosaics of the Cathedral at Orvieto. He came too late, however, to affect the art of his great Umbrian contemporary, Perugino.

Still another influence seems to have streamed into Umbria from northern Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Roger Van der Weyden, for example, made an extended trip throughout Italy and returned to his homeland full of praise of Gentile da Fabriano. We know also that Frederic, Duke of Urbino, maintained at his court from 1465 to 1475 the distinguished northern painter, Justus of Ghent.

In view of these connections with the north it is not surprising to find Flemish characteristics in the works of certain Umbrians, as for example, Niccolò Alunno, Melozzo da Forlì, and their contemporaries.

CHAPTER XIII

Umbrian Painting Continued: the School of Gubbio

Oderisio

IN northern Umbria Gubbio apparently was the first to evolve a local style. Her townsman, Oderisio, a miniaturist and painter, seems to have been active throughout the second half of the thirteenth century, and although there may be considerable doubt in the identification of his works, at least to his contemporaries he was decidedly an artist of parts. He left two pupils, namely, Palmerucci of Gubbio and Vitale of Bologna. He seems to have practiced his art chiefly at Bologna and Rome. It is difficult to associate any paintings at Gubbio with his name.

Palmerucci

Oderisio was succeeded by his pupil, Guido Palmerucci, who was active in the first half of the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, while there are fairly frequent references to him in the fourth decade of the century, it is very difficult to identify any of his works. But critics generally give to him an imposing fresco representing the Virgin and Child and an adorant in the Chapel of the Communal Palace. His association with Oderisio ap-

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pears to be indicated in a certain precise rendering which is common to the miniaturists.

Ottaviano Nelli

The first and, as for that, the last important painter of Gubbio is Ottaviano Nelli, in whom the manner of the



Sta. Maria Nuova, Gubbio

Alinari

OTTAVIANO NELLI: "MADONNA OF THE BELVEDERE"

school is most clearly developed. When he was born we do not know definitely. He is first mentioned in documents as Consul of the Quarter of S. Andrew at Gubbio in May and June, 1400, and must have been at least twenty-five years old at that time to hold that office. This would mean that he could not have been born later than 1375. Some would place his birth as far back as 1365.

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At any rate he was already painting by 1400, for in October of this year he executed the arms of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in Perugia, and from that time until 1444, when he made his will, we have occasional records of his life. After 1444 he drops out of sight. He died possibly about 1450.

Ottaviano Nelli's first preserved work is the "Madonna of the Belvedere" in Sta. Maria Nuova at Gubbio. It was painted in 1403. His last documented work is the series of frescoes in the Chapel of Agnolo de' Carnevali, also in Gubbio in the Church of S. Pietro. Between these come the polyptych at Pietralunga, showing Mary and Child and four saints, signed as of the year 1403, and the extensive series of the Trinci Palace at Foligno done in 1429. The latter deal with the life of the Virgin.

Of this list the Trinci frescoes are the most ambitious work and the most illuminative of Nelli's character. The series, which practically cover the walls of the little chapel, are among the most interesting for the history of Umbrian painting in the first half of the fifteenth century. There are nineteen of them.

Critics are far from unanimous touching these works, some going so far as to say that in them Nelli's art reached the limits of decadence, others finding positive proof of their excellence. Possibly the reason for this divergence of views is that one group judges entirely by the degree of success attained in overcoming difficulties, while the other recognizes its value in part because of the ambition which led the painter to attack, for him, insuperable difficulties.

This much may be said. The painter displays great daring in attacking hard problems, as, for example, that

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of perspective—which in some scenes becomes most elaborately complicated. The willingness to venture into unknown fields of artistic exploration, coupled with decided feeling for naturalism and for energetic expression, should in itself win respect. Certainly in the matter of vitality Nelli excels the late followers of the



Trinci Palace, Foligno

Aunari

OTTAVIANO NELLI: "BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN"

Giottesque tradition. At times his figures are truly eloquent by virtue of the grief-stricken features and the movement of the hands. Had he an ability to draw comparable to his feeling for movement, he would have forced recognition as a master of unimpeachable worth.

At all times he is conscious of the desirability of picturesqueness—so much so in fact that he is apt to lose sight of the spiritual significance of his theme. This

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fondness for unessential incident, and the desire to produce pleasant, pageant effects are the same characteristics which later appear in Gentile da Fabriano. This piquancy of local incident appears to be a reminiscence of the delightful intimacy of the miniaturists. Nelli's retention of the conventionally diapered backgrounds certainly suggests such an association. Possibly the Sienese painter Taddeo di Bartolo may have had much to do with his fondness for narrative. But Nelli is not always equal to the standard he set for himself. His architecture is not correctly done, his gestures not always perfect, and his drawings often far from right.

A just estimation of the artist is possibly this. He affiliates not only with the older miniature style, of which forces emanating from France seem to have affected him, but he also is familiar with the Sienese tradition. His artistic background is mediæval. But he has a marked naturalistic tendency which expresses itself in a picturesque speech. He is vivacious, even energetic—so much so that at times he disregards the rhythmic arrangement of his composition, and even becomes vulgar. He lacks the lofty spirituality of Giotto. For this, however, he makes up in a measure by displaying a genial intimacy in narrative, and a marked feeling for gay coloring. To this he adds a quality of tenderness which continues as an Umbrian characteristic.

In this respect he recalls Gentile, who could paint a fierce naval battle and then produce as gentle a picture as his famous "Adoration." His technique is painstaking and refined. To some he appears a greater artist even than Gentile da Fabriano. While it is true that Nelli is the last important artist of the Gubbian school, his im-

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portance in molding style in his vicinity is considerable. That he was recognized by his contemporaries as an artist with whom it was profitable to study is shown by the fact that on December 25, 1441, we find him contracting to instruct Domenico di Cecco d'Ubaldo for six years.

He had a strong influence upon Niccolò Alunno, and the impact of his style was felt in Urbino, Camerino, San Severino, and even in the Marches. He had many pupils and imitators and it was probably in his school, or at least under his influence, that those artists grew up who, about the middle of the fifteenth century, served as models for young Perugino.

On the whole, the Gubbian school retains too much of the mediæval, miniature tradition in insisting upon exquisite finish and exactness in detail. Its end is possibly to be associated with the expulsion of the Trinci in 1439. Certainly this event was followed by lack of patronage and the removal of it may well have caused a general falling off of artistic worth.

CHAPTER XIV

Umbrian Painting Continued: the School of Fabriano

DURING the Middle Ages the March of Ancona furnishes us with the names of many otherwise unknown artists, as well as some remains of painting which cannot be associated with any definite personality. Fabriano, which belongs quite as much with the Marches as with Umbria proper, presents no exception in this respect. Its school appears to be as old as the Gubbian.

Nuzi

Its first painter of any distinction is Allegretto Nuzi, of whose life unfortunately we know but little. The earliest date connected with him is 1346, when his name appears on the books of the Guild of St. Luke in Florence. He died between September 26, 1373, and September 28, 1374, but how old he was then we do not know. That he left his native heath and came under foreign influence is proved by Florentine records, and we have reason to suppose, from documentary evidence preserved at Fabriano, that he spent some time at Venice. Beyond this we have no knowledge of his peregrinations.

The study of the development of Nuzi's art is more or less cramped by the fact that the signed works are

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confined practically to what is probably the last decade of his life. His earliest dated work belongs to the year 1365—some twenty years after he matriculated in Florence—while his last signed and dated painting, the “*Madonna and Child*” in the Fornari Collection at Fabriano, belongs in the year 1373. While it is possible that certain unsigned works might be found to go back as far as the forties and fifties of the century, the fact remains that our definite source of knowledge is the works created between 1365 and 1372.

Allegretto's first existing work, the triptych in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican, shows that he had not yet developed a fixed manner. The Sienese school is in the ascendancy, with influences emanating in part from Ambrogio Lorenzetti, in part from Simone Martini. Perhaps Ambrogio affected Nuzi most.

On the other hand, Siena does not have it all its own way. The head of the Madonna pretty clearly shows that during his Florentine stay the painter had become very familiar with Giotto's pupil, Bernardo Daddi. This Florentine influence, however, rather suggested than dominant, is confined to certain elusive qualities of the heads of Mary and the Child. It is as if the artist had, at least in the Virgin's face, fused the style of Ambrogio and Daddi. The female saint, Ursula, so far as one may judge from the present painting of the figure, recalls more decidedly the style of Simone. In the “*Enthroned Mary and Child*” of the Fornari Collection the painter still acknowledges his indebtedness to Daddi. The work seems clearly to announce that pensive type made famous by Perugino.

So far as we can know the art of Nuzi, he is an eclectic

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painter who rather frankly confesses his indebtedness to Florence and Siena. That he should have responded to stimuli from these two centers is not astonishing, for all Umbrian art owed much to them. Without the former it is almost impossible to imagine an Umbrian art. But in



Vatican, Rome

Anderson

ALLEGRETTO NUZI: "MARY AND CHILD, SS. MICHAEL
AND URSULA"

Nuzi there is a genial quality, typically Umbrian, which in its suavity is somewhat removed from the more mystic mood of Siena.

The great difference, in fact, between Nuzi and Martini and his group, to whom he is most indebted, is that he lacks the mysticism so distinctive of Martini. He is more bland, but less spiritual. He is fond of represent-

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ing the eyes exaggeratedly long and narrow, as we find them in the work of the school of the Lorenzetti. This mannerism, however, is not the property of Siena alone, and may have derived from Giotto, who accentuates this manner of drawing. At all events, the feature appears quite as prominently in the work of the Giottesques, so that in making use of it as consistently as Nuzi does, he probably is only stressing a fashion generally in vogue in Italy during the fourteenth century. Nuzi has nothing new to offer in the action of his figures. He is content to employ, even to the extent of approaching monotony, the gestures and movements made current by custom and tradition.

What he stands for primarily is a remarkably cheerful sense of color. His is a springtime freshness, approaching gaiety and always recognizing the need of an harmonious adjustment of tones. His exquisite feeling for color foretells the consummate art of Gentile da Fabriano. His love of rich fabrics came to him naturally as a resident of the Marches who had already learned to appreciate the possibilities of color and decorative effect in splendidly brocaded and embroidered fabrics.

If Allegretto Nuzi was interesting for his own art, he acquires an added importance from being the early teacher of Gentile da Fabriano.

Gentile da Fabriano

The youth of Gentile di Niccolò di Massi da Fabriano is unknown. The earliest date associated with him is 1408, when he is mentioned in Venetian documents as painting an altarpiece for Francesco Amadi, and since

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possibly in the next year he began his monumental frescoes in the Doge's Palace, it is unlikely he could have been a mere youth at this time. If he had been as young as thirty, which might be reasonably taken as a minimum age for such an important commission, he could not have been born later than 1379. In all probability the date of his birth should be placed much earlier, for it seems decidedly unlikely that he would have left his native land, have been in Venice long enough in 1408 to be asked to paint for Amadi, and have been enrolled in the Scuola di S. Cristoforo dei Mercanti at Venice (certainly by 1410 when his name appears on the records), at an age any earlier than thirty. Vasari is responsible for the statement that he was eighty years of age at the time of his death. We now know that this took place between August 1 and October 14, 1427.

At a fairly early age Gentile seems to have left the Marches and settled in Venice at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Thence he moved to Brescia, in turn to go to Florence, Siena, Orvieto, and finally Rome. We hear of him in Fabriano for a very brief time in the spring of 1420. Few of his works are found in Fabriano and the Marches, hence the presumption that his native country had little attraction for him once he left it for Venice.

In any attempt to arrange Gentile's works in chronological order one turns naturally to his earliest dated picture, the "Adoration of the Magi" of 1423, as the starting point of the study. This, however, was done but four years before his death and so affords no criterion for estimating his earlier style. The four or five works in Berlin, Milan, Perugia and elsewhere that critics put

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before this date depend for authentication and chronological position upon this picture.

The great "Adoration of the Magi," which marks the height of Gentile's achievement so far as we may judge it by the evidence which has come down to us, was executed on the order of Palla Strozzi to be placed in the



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

GENTILE DA FABRIANO: "ADORATION OF THE MAGI"

family chapel in honor of Onofrio Strozzi. That Gentile should have been selected shows that by 1423 he had won for himself a place among the greater artists of his time.

In painting this panel he had vividly in mind those elaborate pageants to which the people of Italy were so devoted in his day. At Florence itself the story of the Epiphany was each year elaborately dramatized with all

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Uffizi, Florence

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GENTILE DA FABRIANO: "THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT"

the impressiveness that rich garments, many riders, and splendid trappings could supply, and unquestionably some such remembrance must have floated before Gentile's mind when he designed his altarpiece.

But the inspiration may not have been as simple as this. There is the possibility that through Gentile's hands may have passed illuminated French manuscripts similar to the *Hours of the Duc de Berri*.

Judged by this picture Gentile is the chronicler of chivalry, the exponent of the beauty of external life, whereas in the work of Lorenzo Monaco, and also of Fra Angelico, lurks the contemplative vision of the fast dis-



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GENTILE DA FABRIANO: "BIRTH OF JESUS"

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appearing Middle Ages. Both friars are intensely religious; Gentile conventionally so. He paints in a courtly way, emphasizing all those features that might contribute to the splendor of his scene. He has a sense of the picturesque which preserves the delightful naïveté of the earlier miniaturists.

The artist, like the finer illuminators, possesses a most refined color sense whose exquisite quality is a fitting accompaniment of his knightly pageant. He works with the loving care of the Middle Ages, splendidly embossing his panel in gold and with infinite patience working out the lovely patterns of his fabrics. But coupled with this laborious care of a bygone period is a naturalistic tendency which is apt to be overlooked if one considers only the main part of the altarpiece. Thus the predella pictures (one is in the Louvre) show Gentile decidedly interested in a realistic study of nature.

In the "Presentation," for example, he is so intent on producing naturalistic effects that it is somewhat difficult to imagine that the same hand wrought the "Adoration" and this small panel. The architectural setting is faulty enough in perspective, but it is ambitious and the problem of light and shade is seriously considered. The beggars at the right have the appealing quality of the one in Masolino's "Raising of Tabitha" in the Brancacci Chapel. This fact, taken together with the decidedly Masolinesque figures at the left, suggests that Gentile had fallen under Masolino's spell.

More poetic in quality than the "Presentation" is the "Flight into Egypt"; less so is the "Nativity." In the former Gentile combines the flavor of Florentine realism and Sienese poetry. In it, and more noticeably in the

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"Nativity," he displays his interest in light and shade, which he probably developed during his stay in Florence.

This naturalistic feeling may possibly have come to Gentile not only from contact with Masolino but also from a knowledge of the work of Agnolo Gaddi and Lorenzo Monaco.

Gentile leaves an impression of amiable gaiety. By the appeal of bright harmonious coloring he seems intent particularly upon making his pictures attractive. His mood is decidedly non-spiritual—in which respect he differs markedly from the intensely religious Angelico. He is concerned frankly with the physical aspect of things, particularly with those things which produce a pleasant reaction. Therefore he loved the pageant, and all that chivalry implied.

In this respect he is the antithesis of the remarkably mystic, contemplative Dominican, who even in his most Renaissance work, the decorations of the Chapel of Nicholas V, still maintained a certain introspective quality. Both artists loved nature but, while Angelico spread a carpet of flowers for his celestial scenes, his flowers were but means for producing an effect. With Gentile the flowers are loved for themselves. His technique is learned, his color sense delicately attuned, and he works with a minute care which could only be born of a love of surface effects.

As his works now exist, Gentile da Fabriano stands for all that is radiant and pleasant in Umbrian art. But if we may judge from the literary records, he had a wilder, more dramatic, side. We know, for example, that in the Hall of the Grand Council in the Doge's Palace he painted a naval battle between the Venetians and Otho

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III, the son of Barbarossa, and we are told explicitly that the effect of the combat was conveyed in a terrifying manner. According to this testimony Gentile seems to have been a realist of the most pronounced sort and his art must have been good so to impress the critics of his time. He is, even as we know him, a great artist. His own contemporaries thought well of him, Van der Weyden, as we have seen, going so far as to esteem him the best of all the Italians.

For a while the influence of Gentile was deeply felt, especially in the Marches. It was also experienced in the Abruzzi and had a tremendous amount to do with the formation of the Venetian school as it expressed itself in a tendency toward exquisite refinement. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of his gift to the painters of the Lagoon.

Undoubtedly, too, his teaching was fairly potent throughout the great art centers of Italy. That it had a more or less transient effect is explicable when one sees the more powerful artistic forces which quickly followed after him.

His pupils are difficult to catalogue. From the Florentine records we learn of but two apprentices, or assistants, Jacopo Veneziano and Michele d'Ungheria, and of these only Jacopo Veneziano, or to give him his common appellation, Jacopo Bellini, has any permanent value in the history of Italian painting. Perugino even seems to have been affected by him.

CHAPTER XV

Umbrian Painting Continued: the School of Foligno

Niccolò Alunno

DURING the discussion of the work of Ottaviano Nelli mention was made of the great influence he exerted upon the Folignate painter, Niccolò Liberatore, commonly known as Niccolò Alunno. It will be remembered that Nelli did extensive works for the Trinci in their palace at Foligno. It is natural, therefore, to turn to Foligno for the further study of Umbrian painting, since, after the work of Nelli, Gubbio has nothing more of importance to offer. This sequence, moreover, is correct, because Foligno seems to have had little to show in the way of local talent before the appearance of Niccolò Alunno. His *floruit* belongs distinctly in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The date of his birth is as yet undetermined, although it has been placed by some in the year 1430. We find him at work up to 1502, when he partly completed the "Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew," which was finished by his son Lattanzio.

From whom Niccolò learned his art is quite as unsettled a matter as the date of his birth. Some would make him a pupil of Pier Antonio Mezzastris, his own towns-

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man and contemporary; others believe him to be a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli, whose influence might also be explained as coming second-hand through Mezzastris, who himself fell under Gozzoli's spell; others still find in



Foligno

Alinari

PIER ANTONIO MEZZASTRIS: "MADONNA
AND ANGELS"

Niccolò the influence of Bartolommeo Vivarini and even Crivelli; to some critics the teachings of Bartolommeo di Tommaso da Foligno are discernible, while finally there are those who derive his style, in part at least, from Ottaviano Nelli.

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Niccolò, so far as the records and existing works go, was fairly prolific. As many as sixteen authentic works have been assigned to him and at least seventeen more



Vatican, Rome

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NICCOLÒ ALUNNO: "CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN"

have been attributed to him. In this fairly extensive list but two are frescoes—and even these are not positively his. Alunno, then, is distinctly a painter of panels—and at times of banners.

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In his youth he uses a type of figure which by its gentleness affiliates him with the mediæval tradition. This tenderness does not degenerate into affectation, but is touched with a gravity which saves it from the insipidity often seen in mediæval work. The angels who throng about his thrones, playing upon musical instruments or absorbed in quiet devotion, are unusually attractive. Their wings frequently have a sharply pointed, upward directed form.

Niccolò's tendency to subdivide his altarpieces into uncorrelated panels indicates a close relationship with the mediæval manner, and the use of a golden ground associates him with the past. On the other hand, when he draws his thrones in an obviously classic fashion, he shows that the Renaissance was, to a degree at least, affecting him.

He is well characterized in the picture, now in the Vatican, which he painted for the Benedictine Monks of Montepare. The work, signed and dated in 1466, comes a year later than his picture of the Brera. Nearly nine feet square, this great altarpiece still preserves seventy-one separate, unrelated panels in its elaborate Gothic frame. In a way it might be taken as the summation of his style, which in truth did not change conspicuously from youth to old age. In the first place, the insistence upon the polyptych arrangement marks Alunno as a reactionary who refuses to give up the old disjoined arrangement, and it lends color to the argument of those who think to see in the artist the infiltration of influences from Venice. Certainly those who recollect the many-paneled altarpieces of the Vivarini will be somewhat disposed to accept this explanation.

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But the great altarpiece goes further as an index of Alunno's character. It shows him a painter whose interest centers upon detail and meticulous finish at the expense of grandeur—a method of work easily compre-



S. Agostino Siena

Anderson

MATTEO DI GIOVANNI: "SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS"

hensible in a man who rarely left his studio in Foligno, where undisturbed he could lavish his attention upon the elaboration of minutiae.

If this art stopped at that point, he would have little interest for us. But Niccolò Alunno means much more than this. This great polyptych, it is true, lacks cohesion

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and betrays a narrowness, or, to be charitable, a concentration of vision; but, taken individually, the panels are of decided merit and extremely characteristic of the artist.

In the central "Coronation of the Virgin" is gentle dignity. Mary's features are far from conventionally insipid. Just above is a *Pietà* illustrating Niccolò's exaggeratedly dramatic side, and suggesting a comparison with the Sienese, who at one moment could be as exquisitely tender as Simone Martini and at another as repellently violent as Matteo di Giovanni. Indebtedness to the latter painter is acknowledged by some critics.

Nor is that all. The three splendid figures on either side of the main panel might readily be admitted as distinguished portraits. They reveal a power of observation and an ability to render what he saw to a greater degree than is usual in Umbria at this time. Niccolò has a searching curiosity, at least as touches external forms, remarkably like that of the Florentines of the early fifteenth century. Possibly in some way this came to him from familiarity with the work of Benozzo Gozzoli.

We have already spoken of his dramatic tendency. This tended to develop—even to the degree of exaggeration—with the artist's approach to old age. It is most apparent in the "Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew," painted in 1502 and left to be completed by his son Lattanzio. In this, now in the Church of S. Bartolommeo at Marano near Foligno, the artist leaves out nothing which might contribute to gruesome reality. All the restraint which might have elevated a subject, in itself repulsive enough, into a great act of martyrdom is omitted. Instead we behold an executioner with horrid enthusiasm holding his

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knife between his teeth that he may the more easily use his hands to tear the skin from the unhappy saint. The manner in which he uses his hand and elbow reveal the artist searching for the most convincing way in which to bring home to the spectator the frightfulness of the torture. By the sheer force of contrast, offered by the phlegmatic executioner who turns sulkily to listen to the



Church of S. Bartolommeo, Foligno

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NICCOLÒ ALUNNO: "MARTYRDOM OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW"

impetuous command of the officer, the artist drives home the realism of the event. So, too, the groaning martyr and the savage captain both contribute to make the scene real.

Thus Niccolò is as frankly a realist as the most emphatic of the Sieneese. Even Matteo di Giovanni could hardly be more brutal. Contrasted with the Florentines, Niccolò betrays a sad tendency to an exaggeration which,

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held in check in Florentine art, elevates its realism to a dignity unattained by him.

His fault lies not in his lack of power of observation and the realization that nature must be studied closely if one is to be a great artist—for the close rendering of anatomical detail in the forms of this picture frees him from that charge. It lies in his failure to see that the merely close repetition of form as it appears in nature is not true art and that the great painter is one who more or less abstractly employs these forms to express lofty ideals. Niccolò's fault is that in closely observing the particular he loses sight of the general.

Curiously contrasted with his fondness for dramatic expression even to the point of exaggeration, is his obvious love for the attractiveness of childhood. This he displays in the little cherubs of which he so often forms his glories. They are possibly the origin of the attractive type used by Perugino.

Niccolò undoubtedly has his faults. He repeats motives, as, for example, throngs of angels with pointed wings, Christ mourned by angels, and he varies his forms but little from first to last; he has an unfortunate habit of concentrating on detail at the expense of unity, and almost as a corollary he returns persistently to the ancient polyptych which obviously precludes compositional unity; and he has a habit of going to extremes when dramatic.

At the same time he was sincere, not only spiritually but also in his devotion to the reality of nature. He is forceful both in action and in portraiture, and he worked with an exquisite grace which produced altarpieces of infinite charm. As a draughtsman he knows the value

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of properly employed line in rendering action. Unfortunately in the drawing of drapery he, like the Venetians of the fifteenth century, makes use of broken folds and clinging, wet surfaces. In the matter of color he possesses the same charm as his Sienese confrères. Some will even find his color more attractive than his figures.

In spite of his limitations he evolved into a painter who ranks with the best of the Umbrians of his time—perhaps standing ahead of them all. Even the better known Gentile da Fabriano, if we are to judge by the work of this artist that has come down to us, stands perhaps second to Niccolò.

As a potent force in the development of Umbrian art his influence is seen in later painting in the Marches. His influence also extended to Perugia where, in the early phase of his career, he had something to do with the formation of Perugino's style.

CHAPTER XVI

Umbrian Painting Continued: the School of Perugia

FROM Foligno we turn to Perugia as the next center where art flourished in Umbria. The earlier history of painting in this town is, however, difficult to follow because the pictures created before the fifteenth century have either been destroyed or, what is tantamount to the same thing, covered by other paintings of later date. So far as can be made out, Perugia, like most other places, had its local group of painters who here were interested in the production of the conventional, devotional picture.

In the fifteenth century the number of artists at Perugia was considerable, although the place as yet boasted no exceptional school or even artist. Had there been a flourishing, local school, outside painters would not have taken up their residence in the town. Whether this influx of foreign talent was the cause or not, or whether it was just the natural growth of this somewhat retarded school, nevertheless, as the fifteenth century drew near to the fifties, Perugia was not lacking in native painters.

Benedetto Bonfigli

Benedetto Bonfigli is its first distinguished artist whose position in reference to his school is in a way comparable

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to that of Nelli of Gubbio and Niccolò of Foligno. When he was born we are not sure, for no documents are known which might establish that point. We know that in March, 1445, he contracted to paint a Madonna and Child attended by two angels (now lost) for the church of S. Pietro of Perugia, and in 1450 was at Rome working in the Vatican for Nicholas V. Since, however, his pay for the Vatican frescoes was the same as that paid to Benozzo Gozzoli, then working as an assistant for Fra Angelico, there is a fair presumption that Bonfigli had not established himself as a recognized master. In other words, the date of his birth in all probability ought to be put not long after 1420. He died on July 8, 1496. He was, then, active from 1445 to 1496. During this period he moved about considerably. Within those years his life is fairly discernible. His youth and his apprenticeship are still largely a matter for conjecture.

For this youthful period no authentic work is known, and, because of that, critics do not agree upon the names of his teachers. Among those who have been put forward as responsible for the formation of his style are Benozzo Gozzoli, who figures so often as teacher for the early Umbrians, Giovanni Boccati da Camerino, Domenico Veneziano, and Piero della Francesca. Domenico was in Perugia in 1438. While there is no general agreement upon the names just mentioned, it seems probable, in view of what we know of other Umbrian artists at this time, that Benedetto Bonfigli was affected by the Sienese school—especially by Matteo di Giovanni, and that Gozzoli left his imprint upon his style. That he was in Siena in 1460 would at least explain the presence of Sienese traits in his later works. Boccati, too, may have had an

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effect upon him. The claims of Domenico Veneziano and Piero della Francesca, Domenico's pupil, are less clearly established.

It is unfortunate that we have no evidence for the style of Bonfigli until he is about forty years old.

His most ambitious undertaking is a series of frescoes which he began in the Palazzo Pubblico at Perugia, and which, for one cause or another, he left still incomplete at his death in 1496. Covering the major part of his life, they offered an excellent means of arriving at an appreciation of the painter's advance from early middle age to senescence. They demonstrate that by now he was highly appreciated in his homeland. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how he was permitted to drag the execution of this ambitious series of works out over so many years.

The first part of the series was completed by 1461, when Filippo Lippi came to Perugia to value the work. The subjects chosen are scenes from the lives of St. Louis and S. Ercolano. While time and other causes have practically ruined the work so that judgment of the undertaking as a whole is precluded, enough still remains to give some idea of the artistry to which the painter had attained when he was employed upon this, his most ambitious adventure.

Two of Bonfigli's paintings will give us a means for estimating the art of the painter. They represent the translation of the body of S. Ercolano and the funeral of St. Louis.

The "Translation of the Body of Ercolano" shows many highly creditable qualities. Among the citizens of Perugia who accompany the body of the saint are several distinctly

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individual, or portrait, types; and the architectural background, in spite of its meticulous detail, reveals how Bonfigli grasped the possibilities of impressive setting.



Palazzo Pubblico, Perugia

Alinari

BENEDETTO BONFIGLI: "TRANSLATION OF
THE BODY OF S. ERCOLANO"

The "Funeral of St. Louis" is more successful. Its really imposing background recalls the impressive "Burial of St. Stephen" painted at Prato a few years before by Filippo Lippi. Bonfigli's style is here so alien to the Umbrian and so closely affiliated with the Florentine that one easily recognizes an influence coming in upon Bonfigli

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from Florence. When we know that but a few years before this Lippi adjudicated upon Bonfigli's work, the temptation is strong to see here the result of an artistic contact between Lippi and Bonfigli.

Whatever the source of his inspiration, Bonfigli displays considerable knowledge of architectural design and perspective. He even ventures to place his building in



Palazzo Pubblico, Perugia

Alinari

BENEDETTO BONFIGLI: "FUNERAL OF ST. LOUIS"

such a position that the lines do not, as is usually the case, focus in the center of the picture, but a little to one side. The building itself is lofty and spacious, amply capable of housing its figures, and the latter, especially those around the dead saint, are not without dignity. Some of the figures at the sides are fairly good characterizations.

The frescoes at Perugia have a particular value in that they illustrate the artist's indebtedness to different teach-

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ers. Reference has already been made to Benozzo Gozzoli and Filippo Lippi. From the former Bonfigli seems to have derived that fondness for richly detailed architecture. From the latter he learned the value of simplicity and dignity so that, when he created the "Funeral of St. Louis," he had progressed far toward affiliating himself with the Renaissance as it was expressing itself at Florence.

On the other hand, Bonfigli was unable to sever himself entirely from the past. Herein lies much of his charm. Certainly he is much more naïve than the Florentines whom he affected to follow, and this freshness of observation is coupled with a mediæval inaccuracy which is so attractive as to remove the desire for a more complaisant correctness. He is unquestionably a primitive. He gives evidences of the growing power of the Renaissance, but remains closely bound to the mediæval tradition. He exhibits an unforgettable delicacy, which is very patent in his angels and madonnas, in whom he preserves even more than Lippi, to whom he approaches, that supernatural, spiritual character which is so distinctly mediæval.

In a word, he is a normal transitional figure retaining in his poorly drawn but still graceful angels, in his sometimes crowded composition and his lack of power to give his throngs movement, the earmarks of a primitive; while in his more ambitious, and even stately, frescoes he gives proof of an intellectual alertness indicative of the Renaissance. His technique is mediæval. He preserves those delicate tints, rose and fugitive greens, which are always associated with primitive work. His color is delightful. To these qualities he adds that suggestion of mellow

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golden tone which, so commonly present in the Umbrian school, finds its ultimate expression in the work of Raphael and particularly of Perugino.

Benedetto Bonfigli's position among the primitive painters of Umbria is important. Less talented than Alunno, and somewhat more amenable to outside influences, he had considerable to do with familiarizing his countrymen with what was going on in the Florentine school. That he was, as some say, superior to all Umbrians of his age except Piero della Francesca is doubtful. But it never can be debated that he played an important part among those men who preceded and influenced the great Perugino.

Fiorenzo di Lorenzo

With Fiorenzo di Lorenzo we come to an artist who has bulked large in modern criticism. In spite of the fact that only one work bearing both signature and date can be associated with his name, a very large number of unsigned works have been assigned to him upon critical grounds more or less defensible. He has become almost as popular with certain students of Italian art as was Botticelli with the connoisseurs of the Victorian period.

From other dates the year of Fiorenzo's birth may be fixed with a reasonable degree of accuracy not later than 1447. By 1463 he was already on the books of the Guild of Painters at Perugia, and in 1472 became a Decemvir of the city. To all intents and purposes his artistic career extends from 1463 to 1521, when we hear of him acting in the capacity of an art expert. He seems to have died early in 1525.

Unfortunately, while documentary references during this

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period are not infrequent, the identification of particular works mentioned as created in these years is extremely difficult. For incontrovertible evidence, therefore, we are obliged to fall back upon the niche picture of 1487, which belongs to a time when the artist had come much under the spell of Perugino's art. It shows Peter and Paul standing on either side of an empty niche while Mary and the Child with two angels occupy the tympanum above, but it belongs, as we know from documents, well in the mature period of the artist's life and so offers little opportunity for obtaining a knowledge of his formative period.

A study of it brings out the distinct influence of Perugino. This appears particularly in the two angels who adore the Mother and Child in that rapt manner found so consistently in the former painter's style. The two standing saints below likewise exhibit the serene detachment observable in Perugino's work. Even the cranial form with its low, broad crown, as seen in the head of St. Peter, indicates the indebtedness of Fiorenzo to his great contemporary. The drapery of these two figures, and in fact that of the angels, however, is much more involved than in Perugino's works. Mary's face also lacks the delicate modeling which gives Perugino's madonnas so much of their charm.

Owing to the predominance of the influence of Perugino, the study of this picture contributes little to our knowledge of the personal style of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. For that reason one turns toward the period of his youth with the hope that he may reveal himself independent of other artists. Owing to the lack of documentary proof and of signed works, this period can only be studied by using

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those which, because of similarity to the painting of 1485, may be accepted as Fiorenzo's.

Among the pictures of that period which may more or less securely be grouped under Fiorenzo's name are the "Adoration of the Shepherds," nine small panels dealing with the life of San Bernardino, all at Perugia, and the "Madonna of Mercy" in the Church of St. Francis at Montone. All these show mannerisms which are the property of the artist. Such are the delicately pointed chin, long neck, naïve grace and voluminous, fluttering garments with whipping ribbons. Many of these derive from Perugino. Some seem to come from earlier teachers, Bonfigli and Alunno.

But there is intermingled with this influence of Perugino another style which is more personally Fiorenzo's. There is, for example, in the angelic figures a delightful coyness and pretty delicacy which is not Perugino's. These heavenly forms have an amiable insouciance directly opposed to the wistful seriousness of Perugino's types. Even Mary's countenance is slenderer, more winsome, if you will, than that of Perugino's weary-eyed madonnas. Her Child, too, is less serious than Perugino's and is less pleasantly rounded in form.

In the matter of landscape Fiorenzo is capable of charming notes. Contrasted with earlier painters his distant views place him almost on a par with Perugino. But his distances lack the latter's never-forgettable evening calm, and he betrays an almost childish fondness for fantastic rock forms. These, perhaps, he thought added a piquancy to his scene. They are due to that infinitely patient mediæval spirit with which he painted the exquisite flower forms of his foreground.

THE SCHOOL OF PERUGIA



Perugia

Anderson

FIorenzo DI LORENZO: "EPISODE FROM LIFE OF
S. BERNARDINO"

As a whole, the series reveal the artist as a delightful raconteur. His types, especially those of the cavalier, have that neat, almost wasp-like, shape which seems later so to have delighted Pintoricchio. At times the proportions of the figures are bad, but as a rule he shows a dainty elegance which he seems to have had before he acquired to any extent Perugino's suavity. The influence of Perugino is seen in a certain nonchalant grace in his cavalier types. His gay colors produce a pleasant pattern.

Critics permit themselves almost as much liberty in the selection of the painters who contributed to the formation of Fiorenzo's style as they do in the classification of his works. His connection with Perugino is fairly well established—but the influence begins rather late in his life. Before that painter's manner affected Fiorenzo to

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any marked degree, he had been undoubtedly influenced by Niccolò Alunno and Benedetto Bonfigli. This has already been noted. Such connections would point to Fiorenzo as the logical outgrowth of the local school.

Certain critics, however, believe that they can detect in Fiorenzo's manner, at least in the earlier part of his career, indications of familiarity with the art of Verocchio, Benozzo, and even of Antonio Pollaiuolo. That Benozzo may have affected him, at least indirectly, is more than likely, for most Umbrian artists of the earlier generation fell under his spell. The delightful intimacy of Fiorenzo's style may in part have emanated from Benozzo's art. The presence of the influences of the other two artists, however, is not so easily demonstrable.

The somewhat metallic character of Fiorenzo's drapery might be explained by a visit to Florence and a study of Verrocchio's work, and some might claim to see the anatomical interest of Pollaiuolo transmitted by the same visit of Fiorenzo. But there is not the slightest reason to look for Antonio's splendid, physical development or amazing vitality in Fiorenzo's work. The evidences for an influence from Signorelli appear to be even fainter. Undoubtedly the most potent force felt by Fiorenzo in his earlier years was the art of Niccolò Alunno and, after his, that of Bonfigli.

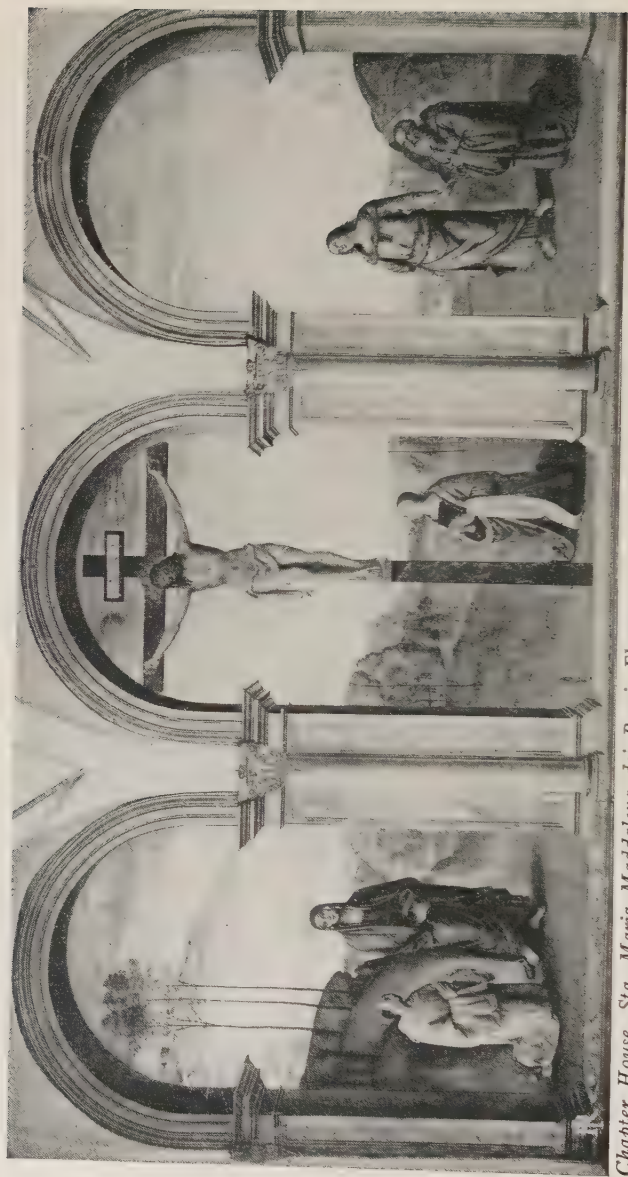
Fiorenzo himself, once coming to his own style, unquestionably exerted a certain influence upon the artists of his time. It is quite possible that in his early days he may have contributed something to the formation of the style of his great rival Perugino—even if he was soon surpassed by the latter and eventually depended greatly upon him. Certainly there are indications that he affected

THE SCHOOL OF PERUGIA

Pintoricchio, so much so that critics still doubt whether certain works shall be called Pintoricchio's or Fiorenzo's. Both use the same somewhat garrulous form of narrative and both love the same kaleidoscopic gaiety of color. The probability is that Pintoricchio obtained these qualities from Fiorenzo, and he maintained them in his later work even after he, even more than Fiorenzo, had acknowledged the supremacy of Perugino.

Estimations of Fiorenzo vary. While it is certain that in his own day and in his own town he was held in high esteem, there are those now who believe him an over-estimated, if identifiable, artist. To those he is a poor draughtsman who clumsily constructs his figures and who seems unable to free himself from the cramped drawing of the earlier Umbrians. Such writers even accuse him of finally becoming a caricature of an artist. Opposed to such detractors are the critics who, seeing in him the real pioneer of the early Perugian school, give him credit for wonderful power as a draughtsman of figures.

The just estimate lies between the two extremes. If the pictures which have been assembled under his name are really his, then one must concede to the painter when at his best an amiable style in which he cleverly employs gay colors and brilliant lighting, and in which he combines considerable knowledge of architectural and aërial perspective with a very fair ability at painting typically Umbrian landscapes. He is a combination of mediæval particularization and Renaissance generalization with a leaning toward the intimacy of the earlier style. He is much better in those scenes which permit him to display his delightful naïveté than in episodes which require vigorous dramatic action.



Chapter House, Sta. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, Florence

PERUGINO: "CRUCIFIXION"

Brogi

CHAPTER XVII

The Umbrian School Perfected: Perugino

PIETRO VANNUCCI, later in his life known as Perugino, is the one artist who practically determined the Umbrian style of painting. He was born probably in the year 1446 in Città della Pieve, a town half-way between Orvieto and Perugia. He died in 1524. At an early age, according to Vasari, he was taken to the latter place and put under a mediocre but honest painter to learn his art. Whether the boy received any training before leaving his home town we do not know. But since he came to study in Perugia, the presumption is that he had already shown an artistic bent and had received some instruction.

Among the Perugians Bonfigli undoubtedly had much to do with the formation of his style because, as Vasari says, he was highly esteemed in Perugia before the advent of Perugino.

Another artist associated with Perugino's youth is Niccolò Alunno. He was enough the senior to be capable of influencing him, and Foligno was near enough to Perugia for Perugino to go there to study with Alunno. By him Perugino was impelled further into that conscientious naturalism toward which he had already been directed by Bonfigli.

Some critics, however, now claim that Fiorenzo di

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Lorenzo played a much more important part in molding young Perugino's style than either Bonfigli or the Folignate, Alunno. The two artists were practically of the same age and likely to grow up familiar with each other's work. Fiorenzo's five or six years' majority would place him in the rôle, if not of teacher, at least of a contributory factor in the formation of Perugino's style.

There are many features in the pictures by the two men more or less inexplicable except on the ground of contact. That contact left Perugino the debtor. For example, in pictures of Perugino's youth there are figures represented with Fiorenzo's neat proportions. This manner of drawing is maintained by Perugino even as late as the time of the painting of the "Delivery of the Keys" in the Sistine Chapel. Both artists also give their personages an aloof air and both paint their landscapes with a fine feeling for distance. Many more points of resemblance might be established; but we must remember that as Perugino passed on into maturity he outstripped his companion and in turn may well have influenced him.

We do not know how long Perugino stayed at Perugia. But about 1465 he left to study under Piero della Francesca either at Arezzo or Borgo San Sepolcro. With him he remained till 1469. From Piero he acquired the knowledge of perspective so conspicuous in his mature art. From him, too, he may have taken that aloofness which is one of his marked characteristics. All this does not imply complete surrender on Perugino's part. In fact, no two painters could be more diametrically opposed, for Piero was a realist, a scientist in art and a student of its problems, while Perugino always remained a pietist.

By the time of his association with Piero, Perugino had

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already developed to a fair degree of attainment. His "Assumption of the Virgin," of Borgo San Sepolcro, shows certain qualities of grace, and, in the matter of landscape, a marked poetic feeling. Little remains to tell of the painter's earlier acquaintance with Perugia and Foligno. Perugino's enthusiasm is now for Piero della Francesca.

From him the young artist may have learned of the advantages of study at Florence. At any rate from Borgo San Sepolcro Perugino seems to have turned toward the city on the Arno.

In 1472, the year in which he enrolled in the Guild of Painters in Florence, Antonio Pollaiuolo's name headed the list with a rank higher even than that of his contemporary, Verrocchio. Perugino naturally turned to him for instruction and assiduously studied his art. He came too late, however, to be made over into a Florentine. At heart he remained steadfast in his allegiance to his Umbrian ancestry, loving the spatial effects and meditative mysticism of that art. All that was accomplished was a development of his knowledge of anatomy and his ability to render substance.

In 1478 comes Perugino's first positively dated work, the "St. Sebastian" at Cerqueto. This is a fragment of a large fresco in the church of the town, showing the figure of Sebastian and parts of those of Sts. Roch and Peter. As yet the artist is not master of his own style, but, still intrigued by the naturalistic aspect of things, is much like his Umbrian and Florentine contemporaries. His interest in strong modeling by light and shade and in fine physical strength is a result of his contact with Pollaiuolo.

Perugino's next important association was with the great Umbro-Florentine, Signorelli, at Loreto, during the

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years 1478-1481. But even here, as at Borgo San Sepolcro and Florence, he refused to surrender himself completely to another's domination. He still insisted upon showing an Umbrian origin in his tidy, feather-duster trees and in a distance that retreats to a far horizon.

In the last year of his stay at Loreto, Perugino was selected by Sixtus IV to work with Ghirlandaio, Roselli, and Botticelli in the Sistine Chapel. He had come to the end of his formative period. To follow him after this, from Florence to Perugia, Città della Pieve, Venice, Pavia, Fano, Orvieto, and Rome would be of little profit in the determination of his development. It is enough to say that he was widely sought, and always busy.

The first indication of Perugino's mature style appears in the frescoes executed in the Sistine Chapel. In the "Delivery of the Keys to Peter," painted in 1482, he is in the full possession of his power.

His paintings on the altar wall, which represented the Assumption of the Virgin, the Nativity of Christ and the finding of Moses, were destroyed to make way for Michelangelo's "Last Judgment." They are known only from a drawing in the Albertina at Vienna. The "Story of Moses and Zipporah" and the "Baptism of Christ" on the flank of the Chapel show the handiwork or influence of other artists, so that to obtain a correct impression of Perugino's art at this time one is forced to study the "Delivery of the Keys."

Here for the first time in his own art and, as for that, in the history of Umbrian painting, is aroused that feeling of illimitable space which Perugino gave to Italian art. The picture is one of the first great paintings of the Renaissance. Possibly the figures in the foreground fall

PERUGINO

at times into conventional poses—forecasting a fault which obtrudes unpleasantly in later works by Perugino—but, granting this, there broods over these aloof, meditative forms a solemnity which makes the picture very impressive. The ideal figures of the saints have the introspective, “lost” expression peculiar to Perugino’s personages.

As yet this expression has not advanced to the ecstasy which appears in his later works, but preserves a serious-



Sistine Chapel, Rome

Alinari

PERUGINO: “DELIVERY OF THE KEYS”

ness indicating a transitional phase between the naturalism of his youth and the mysticism of his ripe maturity. The ideal heads suggest a type, but they have not yet ceased to be individual. They are not, however, so vitally alive as the splendid portraits introduced at the right of the group.

With the Sistine frescoes Perugino entered upon the best period of his life. This continued until the neighborhood of 1500, when signs of decadence make their

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appearance. Having progressed thus far, he soon attained to a certain permanent style which makes it unnecessary to follow him from place to place during his many journeyings, or even to examine in turn the many works he created during these years. One or two pictures will do to give a complete understanding of his art.

In April, 1496, Perugino created what perhaps is his masterpiece—so far as it exhibits him as a painter of quietly meditative, devotional pictures—the impressive “Crucifixion” of the Chapter House of Sta. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, Florence. The fresco occupies the whole end wall of the room and the artist has presented the picture as a scene viewed through the openings of three arches. The aim, however, is not realistic, but is a mystic representation of the Great Sacrifice. Through the center arch is seen the Cross with the kneeling Magdalen; under the arch at the right are John the Evangelist and the kneeling Benedict; under that at the left Mary and Bernard—in all six figures.

The yearning quietness of those gathered around the Cross touches the depths of religious emotion. The quality of stillness which to a high degree makes this picture the unrivaled representation of the mystic conception of the Crucifixion is due in a measure to the self-absorption of the figures and the sense of loneliness produced by the Umbrian landscape which spreads itself away to infinity behind the figures.

In 1500 Perugino completed his decoration of the Cambio, or Bankers' Exchange, in Perugia. The themes were selected by Francesco Maturanzio, Professor of Rhetoric at Perugia, who acted in behalf of the guild of bankers, and his intention was to hold before the men

PERUGINO

transacting business in this room the need of observing the laws of justice. So there appear on the walls the several Virtues, both Greek and Roman, with heroes who typify them, and the Prophets and Sibyls who, figuring in the history of our Lord, stand as the perfect types of justice. These subjects are completed by the Nativity and



Cambio, Perugia

Alinari

PERUGINO: "FORTITUDE AND TEMPERANCE"

Transfiguration. The whole series occupies the upper part of the walls above the paneling, while the ceiling, given over to assistants, is decorated with the seven planets and signs of the Zodiac.

The painting of the Cambio is Perugino's most ambitious work. It is not his finest, either as expressing his native temperament or as showing him at his best in

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drawing. The formal, allegorical character of much of the subject matter undoubtedly went far toward preventing him from expressing himself perfectly.

By 1500 Perugino had reached and passed the high-water mark of his career. From time to time after the *Cambio* he produced works which reflect his old ability, but it is pitiful to note that there is a continually growing tendency to repeat and to exaggerate. How much he permitted himself to borrow or adapt from his earlier works is illustrated by the great Vallombrosan altarpiece, now in the Uffizi in Florence. It was finished in 1500 shortly after the completion of the *Cambio*. The archangel at the bottom of the picture, the running angels and other details that might be cited, are borrowed almost bodily from earlier works; the artist has no hesitation even to repeat figures used elsewhere in the panel. In many respects the picture is monotonous; but the Madonna equals in loveliness those of his earlier works; and the two middle saints below compensate by their gentle piety for the awkwardly designed angels who stand on either side of Mary. The luminous depth of the landscape shows that in this province of painting Perugino is still master of his art.

The need for rapid work entailed by the many commissions crowding in on the artist caused him to make use of assistants, and with this employment of outside help came the inevitable deterioration of artistic excellence; with the need for speed, the growing tendency to repeat. By picking out excellent works here and there one might go on to show that the old painter was capable of producing works replete with his usual charm. But these would make more evident the melancholy tendency toward ar-

PERUGINO

tistic laziness and exaggeration which belongs to Perugino's old age. The best period of his life began in the neighborhood of 1475 and closed about 1500. From that time on is a steady decline.

We have perhaps stressed Perugino's failing too much. As a matter of fact, in his finer works he creates figures of striking loveliness, his landscapes are irreproachable, his mastery of color and space complete, and his poetic sense of the highest order. He is never tragically, violently dramatic, but gentle, restrained, and devout. From his best works emanate dignity and reverent religious emotion. He is a painter *par excellence* of the contemplative mood, and this mood he gives to his landscapes as well as his figures. He is a master technician, a thorough student of perspective, and of composition. His color is most genially pleasant. He was, we should not forget, a great portraitist.

Against these virtues are to be placed certain faults. He is often mannered. He is at times monotonous by reason of frequent repetition of figure, gesture, or even whole scene. The fault was noted by his own contemporaries, and it bootied little that Perugino defended himself by retorting that if a figure pleased in one picture, he could see no reason why it should be caviled at in another. This failing indicates a certain lack of originality if not of mental laziness. It suggests that Perugino was not a genius, but a painter of somewhat more than ordinary ability who by sheer industry made himself a master of his craft.

With this attainment he became the founder of the Umbrian school as we know it in the sixteenth century. He made ecstatic painting the vogue. He opened up to

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Italian art the possibilities of space composition. His influence was extensive; hardly an Umbrian painter of his time escaped it, and the enumeration of those who fell under his spell would be a tedious task. Among the more distinguished is Raphael, and had he been nothing else than his master, he would have been worthy of a high place.

CHAPTER XVIII

Umbrian Painting Continued: Pintoricchio

OF the life of Bernardino di Benedetto di Biagio, or Pintoricchio, as he preferred to be called to distinguished himself from an inferior Perugian painter named Benedetto Mariotto, we know little until the year 1482 when with Perugino he painted in the Sistine Chapel. He died in the year 1513, and at the time of his death he was, says Vasari, fifty-nine years old. His birthplace is Perugia.

For a knowledge of his early training we are reduced practically to the information derived from a study of his work. But Vasari seems correct in saying that he was an assistant to Bonfigli, for both artists employ the same oval for the face, the same delicately pencilled brows and pursed lips, and show the same fondness for ornamental costume. Internal evidence also indicates that in his first adventures in painting he was directed by some miniaturist.

Much more potent, however, than the miniaturist in the formation of Pintoricchio's style, was his contact with the Perugian painter, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, from whom he acquired the fantastic, rock formations of his landscapes and his delightfully detailed but often irrelevant episode. Even many of Pintoricchio's figures are

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taken over from Fiorenzo, and the same nervous action of subordinate and distant groups is found in the works of both artists. How close the two men stand together is to be judged from the fact that certain of the small San Bernardino panels at Perugia are given by some critics to Pintoricchio and by others to Fiorenzo. The "Crucifixion" of the Borghese Collection, Rome, also possibly by Pintoricchio, is frankly in the manner of Fiorenzo.

There are other less marked influences upon the style of Pintoricchio—possibly a fleeting one of Niccolò da Foligno, and another of the Florentines. His interest in the richly embroidered fabrics and even the cramped, clawlike movement of the hands may have come by way of Fiorenzo from Antonio Pollaiuolo; the bulging nose possibly from Verrocchio. But, in either case, the indebtedness was only indirect. It was to Fiorenzo that Pintoricchio went.

After Fiorenzo, the artist who most affected Pintoricchio is Perugino and since, when we find them working together in the Sistine Chapel in 1482, Pintoricchio had acquired many of Perugino's mannerisms, we must postulate several years of association before that date. Some believe that the intimacy of the two may have begun as far back as 1478, when Perugino was working at Cerqueto on his "St. Sebastian." The results of Perugino's teaching appear in the portrait of a boy, now in Dresden, which reliable critics accept as a work of Pintoricchio's early years—perhaps of the year 1480. In this we find the fine decisive drawing and the somewhat swollen features observable in Perugino's paintings. Even the landscape for the most part corresponds to the elder paint-

PINTORICCHIO

er's. This influence, more or less timidly acknowledged in the Dresden portrait, becomes most evident in the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel.

With the works in this building we approach the first definite date in Pintoricchio's career, and from then on his life is traceable with a fair degree of accuracy. By this time he had reached the age of twenty-eight and was more or less settled in his style. In fact, shortly after he finished his part in the Sistine Chapel he developed a manner of painting which changed but little during the remainder of his life. He had evolved a style which pleased his patrons, and, contented with this, he had no desire to go further.

For this reason there is little to gain in following his career step by step. Three or four great works stand out as his major efforts, and the examination of these will tell us all we need to know of his style.

Our first sure ground is reached when we enter the Sistine Chapel. Here, if we may judge from the extent of his collaboration, he was Perugino's chief assistant. The frescoes in which his hand is most clearly seen are the "Baptism of Christ" and the "Journey of Moses." For the "Journey" there are several sketches of heads in the Venetian sketchbook, which is now generally accepted as Pintoricchio's; in the same sketchbook are figures intended for the "Baptism."

In these two frescoes we first encounter Pintoricchio engaged upon an important commission. He appears to have been given a more or less free hand by Perugino, so that, although the arrangement and many parts are doubtless due to the elder artist, the two paintings may be accepted as fairly representing Pintoricchio at this time.

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They show him, under the benign influence of Perugino, broadening out from Fiorenzo's somewhat cramped manner. How much he owed to his master is appreciated from the fact that afterward when Perugino's influence was removed he never again attained to the dignity he displays in these two works. Later he painted portraits as striking as those in the Sistine Chapel, but when



Sistine Chapel, Rome

Alinari

PINTORICCHIO: "JOURNEY OF MOSES"

thrown upon his own resources he showed that his forte was decoration and not monumental painting.

From internal evidence there are good reasons for supposing that Pintoricchio's next undertaking, after the Sistine frescoes, was the decoration of the Bufalini Chapel in the Ara Coeli, in Rome, with scenes from the life of San Bernardino. It is his first independent commission of importance. But his most ambitious undertaking in Rome, and perhaps in his whole career, is the decoration

PINTORICCHIO

of the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican. The work was probably finished between 1492 and 1495.

Of necessity Pintoricchio used helpers so that it is not always clear just what is his part and what is that of his assistants. The whole scheme, both in arrangement and color, even to the employment of gilded relief,



Borgia Apartments, Rome

Anderson

PINTORICCHIO: "SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS"

was, however, undoubtedly his, also unquestionably many of the individual figures and groups, and even whole frescoes.

The frescoes in the five rooms make Pintoricchio a peer of any decorative painter of his time. Not caring, perhaps unable, to maintain the grandiose style of painting of the Sistine frescoes, he displays in these rooms an unusual

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appreciation of the dignity of resonant coloring and pleasant organization. That richness should be the keynote, he employed considerable gold and embossing, by the use of which he united his deep color notes into a magnificent whole. Undoubtedly when the rooms were just finished the colors were more brilliant than now, and the gold more gleaming, but even then the key was comparatively low. The effect is impressively rich—almost stifling.

Perhaps nowhere, unless in the Sistine Chapel, does he ever rise to the perfection of the second room—the Hall of the Saints. His composition is thoughtful, and his design pleasantly distributed. The indications of a bent toward a non-heroic, but graceful, form of artistic expression already become marked here. In the lunette representing the story of Susanna and the elders, the scene is treated with all the prettiness of a book illumination. Rabbits and other creatures play around, and even the surprised Susanna is a pliant, graceful heroine not too distressed by the presence of the elders. In the background the multiplication of details and the fantastic rock formations of Fiorenzo replace the generalized openness of Perugino.

Little would be contributed by a further study of these rooms. Whatever may have been Pintoricchio's failings, such as a general inability to coördinate his figures, a mediæval insistence upon depicting distant episodes with the clarity given to those in the foreground, and a failure to construct his composition in such a way that every figure becomes an essential—in spite of these faults, the frescoes in the Borgia Apartments tell of an artist equipped with a true knowledge of the value of

PINTORICCHIO

color and of pattern as a means to produce decorative effects. Granting that he lacked feeling for the grand style, as it is expressed for example by Raphael, he knew



Vatican, Rome

Alinari

PINTORICCHIO: POPE ALEXANDER BORGIA"

how to spread on his walls a rich, harmoniously toned design which fulfills perfectly its function as a decorative adjunct to architecture.

After the Borgia Apartments Pintoricchio's most ambitious work was the decoration of the Piccolomini Library

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of the Cathedral at Siena. For this work the contract was signed on June 29, 1502, and after certain delays it was completed, or at least the last payment for the painting was made, on January 7, 1509. The subjects chosen for illustration were scenes from the life of the remarkable Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who became Pope Pius II.

To analyze the ten pictures which decorate this room would be to repeat oneself many times. The subjects are treated in a narrative style, garrulous at times, and show how the painter, throwing aside all allegiance to the mystic phase of Umbrian painting, has developed the chatty, and not too heroic, manner of Fiorenzo.

Connected with this series is the interesting question of the participation of the young Raphael. There seems little doubt that he was in Siena at this time and there is good reason for supposing that the drawing for the "Journey to Bâsle" may be his, and that perhaps elsewhere, as in the "Meeting of Frederic and Eleanor," his hand is to be seen. But even if Raphael did participate in the frescoes, it was as a subordinate. The credit for the decoration of the Library belongs to Pintoricchio.

Judged in the most kindly mood, Pintoricchio must be assigned to a secondary position. He could paint so cruelly truthful a likeness as that of the sensual Pope Alexander of the first Borgia Apartment; and he did possess a remarkable decorative sense. But he lacked the spiritual intensity, or ecstasy, of Perugino, never brought himself to the impressive simplicity of that artist, and altogether found himself out of place among those painters whose work was cast at all in heroic molds. He suffered an interrupted development since, before he had

PINTORICCHIO

mastered all the laws of his art, he found himself a popular painter in Rome. From that moment his decline began. Starting out with a daintily poetic nature and a mind peculiarly sensitive to color value, under Perugino he went fairly on his way toward artistic mastery. He ended by remaining an Umbrian of the old school, garrulous or merely decorative. He understood design and his color is refined and dignified. That he had little influence upon the art of his time is perhaps to be explained by the fact that he is a survival of a tradition which was dying out elsewhere under the compulsion of the more learned art of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER XIX

The Umbro-Florentines

THE group of Umbrian painters who learned from the Florentines is comparatively small. These men, midway between the two schools of Florence and Umbria, combine the calculated science of the Florentine with the feeling for space and the mysticism of the Umbrian.

Piero della Francesca

At the head stands Piero di Benedetto dei Franceschi, who was born at Borgo San Sepolcro, a town in northern Umbria about halfway between Florence and Fabriano. From Vasari's statement that he was eighty-six years old at his death in 1492 we may assume he was born about 1406. Some critics put his birth a few years earlier or later.

Of his early life there is no definite information. The first authentic date is 1439 when he appears as an assistant of Domenico Veneziano, who was then engaged upon his frescoes in the Church of Sta. Maria Nuova in Florence. After this the chronological arrangement of Piero's activities as a painter becomes practically impossible, for, although Vasari has considerable to say, his sequential marshaling of facts is obviously incorrect.

THE UMBRO-FLORENTINES

There seems to be no question that he was in Rome in the employ of the Pope, Nicholas V, in 1451 and the probability is that he was in that city in the years 1447-1451. But his work there is lost—destroyed to make way for Raphael.

Yet there are certain established dates, and they are concerned with what seem to have been his most important works. We know that he was at Rimini in 1451 and at that time did the fine portrait in fresco of Sigismond Malatesta; that he was in Urbino in 1469 and in all probability painted his portrait of Frederic of Urbino some time before this; and we know that between 1452 and 1456 he finished his most ambitious work in the Church of St. Francis at Arezzo—the “Legend of the Cross.”

By the time we encounter his earliest authentic works the artist had passed well into middle life and his style had become practically fixed. Certain changes occur, but the sum total of his accepted productions shows him already past the impressionable age and possessed of a remarkably personal style.

Piero's earliest teachers are unknown. But, at the time he was approaching the age of apprenticeship, Sienese art was exerting a strong influence upon painting in Umbria and it is easy to imagine that Piero della Francesca felt the spell of that mystic art. Some critics would see the Sienese influence come through the teaching of Domenico di Bartolo and Sassetta. But it is hard to find in Piero's known works any of the characteristics of these reactionaries, in particular of the ineffective mystic, Sassetta. If he took anything from him, it was his pale tones and delicate chiaroscuro. If any Sienese

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mysticism affected him, it reappeared in his work only as a severe and aloof mood. At heart Piero della Francesca is Umbrian, and, like all good painters of that part of Italy, he has a feeling for space and air. But this does not carry us toward the discovery of his early teachers. All that may be said of them is speculative.

We come to sure ground only when we approach 1439, and by that time, when the artist was about thirty years old, it is doubtful if any man could really be called his teacher. When, therefore, in 1439 we find him employed as an assistant to Domenico Veneziano, it must be remembered that he was an assistant and not a pupil.

Domenico had come to Perugia in 1438. At that time Piero may have met him and then have accompanied him to Florence. Whatever the case, the two men were associated in the work in the Ospedale of Sta. Maria Nuova from 1439 to 1445. Domenico's own style is distinguished among other things for a distinct dignity touched with aloofness. This characteristic he seems either to have transmitted to, or to have intensified in, Piero.

Florence, however, had more to offer to Piero than the teaching of Domenico. Confronted by the science of Andrea del Castagno and Paolo Uccello, he learned from them much of the laws of perspective. One who remembers the self-reliant Pippo Spano can easily believe that from Castagno Piero may have learned how to plant his personages firmly on their feet. But where Castagno and Uccello remain more or less painter-scientists, Piero gives his productions a spiritual quality unknown to these men.

Piero's Florentine training terminated in 1445, when the work in Sta. Maria Nuova came to a close, although

THE UMBRO-FLORENTINES

for a year longer he worked with Domenico at Loreto. From then Piero ceased to be a pupil.

The "Baptism of Christ," now in the National Gallery, London, belongs probably to the earlier phase of



National Gallery, London

Anderson

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: "BAPTISM
OF CHRIST"

Piero's art. It contains practically all the characteristics observable in his work from now on. But particularly noticeable is its *chiaroscuro*, which is used most skillfully to give the effect of reality to the nudes.

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These types he introduces elsewhere in his pictures. They are sedate, aloof, and in the case of the angels, of a calm, almost severe beauty. Christ's countenance is stern, even somewhat coarse. These figures Piero, uninterested in the tenderer emotions, represents as personages of a superior mold, almost heroic and dispassionate. They are detached from, and indifferent to, the transient emotions of ordinary men. Like all of Piero's actors, they are reserved and impersonal after the manner of fifth century Greek art. This severity, or detachment, runs like an undertone throughout Piero della Francesca's work.

Coupled with this impersonality is a remarkably close scrutiny of nature. Behind the episode of the baptism, the stream of the Jordan shows a most careful study of reflections in its surface and a minute examination of the plants along its banks. The trees in the foreground are painted with scrupulous care and the distant landscape is handled with a fair degree of generalization.

This strong work marks the artist as a student whose spirit is lofty, whose aim is scientific. He records his reactions in an epic fashion, disdainful of any appeal of prettiness, and he seriously investigates the problem of light and shade, and the modeling of the human form through the agencies of these media. Although at times he appears somewhat unselective in his types, even this suggestion of coarseness is not without compensation from the point of view of suggested vigor.

With the "Baptism" it will be interesting to compare the "Resurrection" painted probably late in Piero's life. It is now in the Municipio at Borgo San Sepolcro. The quality of severity or solemnity which made its appear-

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ance in the "Baptism" is here developed to perfection. In the unearthly figure of Christ, rising with fixed eyes from the tomb, the artist realizes, as no other painter has done, the supernaturalness of the Resurrection. By means of the cold, morning light which bleakly plays



Municipio, Borgo San Sepolcro

Anderson

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: "RESURRECTION"

upon the powerful form of our Lord, the chilly glow of the distant horizon, and the impression of dead silence which broods over the scene, Piero has given the event an awesome quality.

Time added much to the learning of the artist. Endowed with a lofty conception of the function of art, created of the same stern stuff of which Michelangelo was made, and possessed of a student's impulse toward investigation, he displayed at the end of his life an intensi-

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fication of those qualities of dignity and reserve, of reticence and impersonality, observed in the earliest of his works. He is less interested in the transient mood,



Uffizi, Florence

Anderson

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: "THE
DUCHESS OF URBINO"

or the appeal of ordinary physical beauty, than in the ethical, or constant. His types at times approach the repellent.

This is particularly true of his women, some of whom are represented with thick lips, narrow eyes, and un-

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naturally long necks. It is less noticeable among the masculine forms for which he apparently had more interest and to which he gave a personal character. In either



Uffizi, Florence

Anderson

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: "THE DUKE
OF URBINO"

case, the human being in Piero's estimation was valuable chiefly from the point of view of the construction of his pictures. Pictures could not be created without human forms, therefore they are there, but the things that appealed to the painter were the problems of perspective,

space, atmosphere, light and shade, and the display of unchangeable moods.

Although he lacks the versatility of Leonardo and does not rise to the heroic level of Michelangelo, Piero della Francesca is a noble painter. His dignity is comparable with that observable when an archaic art is about to pass from archaism into technical perfection and lofty idealism. Piero's dominant note is majesty, drawn from reserve and repose, rather than from theatrical trappings.

His work reflects a thoughtful mind. In his own day he was recognized as a trained geometrician. He published two treatises entitled *Libellus de Quinque Corporibus Regularibus* and *Prospettiva Pingendi*. His chiaroscuro is learned; his color, delicate. His tones, pure and clear, are beautifully revealed by the clear light which he introduces into his pictures. His portraiture was remarkably true—like Jan Van Eyck's—as we can see from the likenesses of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino, in the Uffizi.

Piero della Francesca's influence was fairly extensive. According to Vasari he was a teacher of Perugino and he undoubtedly had some influence upon his fellow student, Bonfigli, who worked together with him under Domenico Veneziano. In Umbria his teaching was influential. Giovanni Santi felt it and, through him, to a certain extent, Raphael was influenced by it. But of all the men who might be most definitely claimed as his pupils, the most prominent are Luca Signorelli and Melozzo da Forlì. While this teaching is not definitely apparent, it was in all probability to Piero della Francesca that Signorelli owed much of his dignity and Melozzo some-

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thing of his imposing qualities and his appreciation of space.

Luca Signorelli

Luca Signorelli, who, together with his fellow pupil, Melozzo da Forlì, carried on and developed the Umbro-Florentine school from the point reached by Piero della Francesca, was born possibly as early as 1441. A later date, 1450, or thereabouts, has also been suggested as the year of his birth. He died probably in 1523. He is first heard of as an artist in 1470, when he painted for the Compagnia delle Laudi in S. Francesco at Cortona, his native town, and his first dated preserved work is the altarpiece which in 1484 he did for the Cathedral at Perugia.

Vasari, his kinsman, who as a mere child knew the then aged artist, tells us that as a boy Luca was taken from Cortona to the not distant town of Arezzo to study with Piero della Francesca. How long he stayed with Piero we do not know. During this time he must have acquired from his teacher the grand style which appears in his earliest preserved pictures. From Piero he learned to draw well and to model massive forms by means of broadly handled chiaroscuro. Beyond this Signorelli took little from the painter of Borgo San Sepolcro, for, where Piero is peculiarly austere and wrapped about with reserve, Signorelli is impetuous and fond of violent action.

Signorelli soon made his way to Florence, where he devoted himself to a study of the art of Antonio Pollaiuolo. Both men were interested primarily in the same thing, namely, the expression of force through the agency of muscular, human forms represented as in the stress

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of action—Pollaiuolo choosing to display force through the medium of rather slender, wiry forms, while Signorelli preferred a more massive type. Granting these differences, the purposes of the two men were practically identical.

In selecting Pollaiuolo as a model, Signorelli committed himself to an association with the more advanced school of artistic thought of his time.

In Florence Signorelli acquired a love of action, an interest in anatomy and, so far as it was not already his, a quality of aggressiveness. Had he given himself up entirely to these, he would have become frankly a Florentine. But he retained the remembrance of his life in Umbria. Piero had suggested to him the impressiveness of space, which he came further to appreciate after a study of the work of the great Umbrian, Perugino. From him he borrowed some of his favorite details, such as fluttering scarfs and ecstatically upturned faces.

By the eighties Signorelli had more than a local name, for, probably in the last months of 1482, we find him in Rome assisting Perugino, Botticelli, and others in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel.

While his first work here appears to be various figures in the "Giving of the Keys," his chief contribution was the fresco called the "Testament and the Death of Moses."

A consideration of this picture, the "Testament of Moses," brings home the artist's dignity. His landscape, while idyllic, has great simplicity. It has, too, the spaciousness which is an indelible characteristic of the Umbrian school.

Whatever may have been his standing before he began work in the Sistine Chapel, when he was done Signorelli

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had won for himself in that building a reputation which admitted of favorable comparison with Ghirlandaio and other men who were at work in the same place.

After this he occupied himself with various works, the more important of which are the frescoes in the sacristy of the Church of the Holy House at Loreto, the "Mary



Sistine Chapel, Rome

Alinari

PIERO D'ANTONIO DEI: "TESTAMENT OF MOSES"

(from Signorelli's drawing)

and Child" of the Cathedral at Perugia, and the "Pan"—all done in the neighborhood of 1484.

Then comes Signorelli's triumph—the great series of frescoes dealing with the Last Judgment painted at Orvieto in the years 1499 to 1503.

It will be remembered that some half a century before this Fra Angelico had undertaken to decorate the Chapel of S. Brizio in the Cathedral at Orvieto, but for some reason never completed his task. His contribution

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consists of the "Christ in Glory," in one section of the vault, and a group of sixteen prophets in another. These were intended as a prelude, as it were, to the "Last Judgment" on the side walls below.

Signorelli's first task was to complete the ceiling decoration, started by Fra Angelico, by filling the remaining six sections of the vault with angels holding implements of the Passion, with apostles, the choir of martyrs, the virgin martyrs, the Doctors of the Church, and the Patriarchs. In these panels he follows more or less the scheme laid down by his predecessor, and in places may actually have profited by drawings for the ceiling left by Fra Angelico.

It is on the side walls of this chapel that Signorelli reveals his own heroic, grim style. The subjects represented are the Preaching and Fall of the Antichrist, the crowning of the Elect, Heaven, and the Judgment of Minos, the Damnation, the Resurrection, and the End of the World.

Here the artist is primarily interested in the display of force. This he illustrates not only in almost exaggerated development of muscular form, as in the demons in the "Damned," but by means of figures drawn in daring positions as they fling through space. The technical side, as it appears in the study of the nude and in the remarkable if forced foreshortening, is carried out with prodigious power. He approaches his drawing of the human figure with the same insistence upon tremendous vitality as Uccello.

Perhaps nowhere so well as in these impressive frescoes of the "Last Judgment" is Signorelli distinctly a painter of crowd movement. In this respect he differs vitally

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from Piero, his teacher, and appears as the forerunner of Michelangelo. It would be difficult to find a more complete representation of such action than that of the convulsive grouping in the "Damned." The only criticism possible is that the action takes place entirely in the foreground.

The artist's interest is distinctly technical, but it is not



San Brizio Chapel, Cathedral, Orvieto

Alinari

LUCA SIGNORELLI: "THE DAMNED"

so predominant as to suppress the spiritual side.

Signorelli has much in common with Antonio Pollaiuolo in that both were interested in the depicting of the human form in action. But there is at least one difference between them. Pollaiuolo showed a number of figures in action, whereas Signorelli's prime interest lay in crowd movement, that is to say, the synthetic movement of a mass of people expressing itself under one impulse.

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Of course the types of figure chosen by the two artists for their means of expression are absolutely opposed—Pollaiuolo preferring a slender, wiry type, Signorelli a massive one which forecasts those used by Michelangelo. His handling of the nude, however, is drier than that of the latter artist.

There is in his drawing an archaic tightness which definitely marks Signorelli as a member of that group of great artists who stand on the borderland between the fluent, smooth style of men like Raphael and Michelangelo and the work of painters who preserve the last evidences of constraint in drawing. Like Michelangelo, Signorelli is not primarily a colorist. This does not mean that he was, any more than Michelangelo, without a color sense, for both appreciated the value of harmonious color; but with both men it was secondary to form—and in the case of Signorelli it is sometimes so disregarded as to become harsh and hard. In landscape he always shows a remarkably refined feeling for color value. This may be due to his Umbrian training.

Although distinctly interested in the expression of force through the agency of the human form, and showing a peculiar predilection for figures of swaggering, arrogant mien, Signorelli creates work not without beauty. This beauty, however, is not that of yielding grace, or fragile form, as is the case with Botticelli, but is one which has the dispassionate impersonality of the Greeks. In this matter he is a true pupil of his master, Piero della Francesca.

Signorelli is a religious painter; yet his religion is not ecstatic, as, for example, was Fra Angelico's, nor is it pensive like Perugino's. His mood is austere, manifest-

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ing itself not only in his religious themes, but in works which are independent of the constraint of religion. The impression which he leaves is that of more or less unapproachableness. He suffered the misfortune of living on into a time when greater and more letter-perfect painters, Raphael and Michelangelo, were bearing art beyond his reach.

His influence was not extended or lasting, yet among the great men undoubtedly Michelangelo learned from him. Bartolommeo della Gatta (Piero d'Antonio Dei) reflects his influence perhaps more than any other painter of the time, and Genga, who entered Signorelli's studio at the age of fifteen, and, according to Vasari, stayed with him for twenty years, caught his spirit to a certain degree. Other lesser men might be mentioned, but their borrowing led to no vigorous continuation of his style.

Melozzo da Forlì

Besides Signorelli, Piero della Francesca had one other noted pupil, Melozzo da Forlì, who was born about 1438 and died in his native town on November 8, 1494. For the most part he derives stylistically from Piero; on the other hand, there is some evidence, which expresses itself as a certain hardness in the drawing of drapery, suggesting contact with the Mantegnesque tradition. These Paduan mannerisms are due probably to Anselmo da Forlì, who was familiar with the Squarcionesque style, and is by some accounted an early teacher of Melozzo.

The Paduan element, however, plays a small part in his style. His greatest indebtedness is to Piero della Francesca, to whom in his youth he was probably taken

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for instruction when the latter was engaged in the decoration of the Church of S. Francesco at Arezzo. We do not know how long he stayed with Piero, but by 1460 he had become sufficiently independent to be commissioned by Alexander Sforza to make a copy of a miraculous picture of the Virgin in Sta. Maria del Popolo in Rome. After this we lose sight of him until 1477, when he appears for the first time as a painter on the records of the Papal Court. There is a possibility that late in the sixties he accompanied Piero to Urbino. When he came to Rome is a question.

As one follows Melozzo's career the feeling develops that his growing interest was in the drawing of figures in postures which present difficult problems of perspective. Figures seen in an elevated position he may have come to like through familiarity with the Paduan school, for certainly Mantegna loved such positions—and from the same quarter he may have derived his interest in abruptly foreshortened forms.

So when, probably toward the end of the seventies, he painted the "Ascension of Christ" for the tribune of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Rome, he considered his theme a means for drawing figures in positions of difficult foreshortening, and particularly as an opportunity to represent sweeping motion. His fellow-pupil, Signorelli, had represented action, but always as expressive of savage force. Melozzo depicts it buoyantly and, above all, in such a way that he may exploit his knowledge of foreshortening. The latter feature obtrudes itself too much, for in the "Ascending Christ," now in the Quirinal, one feels that primarily he was concerned with the position of his figure and less with the event.

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This criticism fortunately does not apply with equal force to the angels and apostles which complete the fresco. Those, now in the sacristy of the Vatican, show not only the splendid power of a draughtsmanship which could place them in any desired position, but they make it clear



Sacristy of the Vatican, Rome

Alinari

MELOZZO DA FORLÌ: "HEAD OF
AN APOSTLE"

that Melozzo could spiritualize his characters when he chose. Noteworthy are the self-absorbed angels whose faces express earnest reverence or intent devotion to the individual task. Among these angelic forms are several whose faces are heroically, and at times tenderly, beautiful.

In this work Melozzo is the exponent of emotion and of action growing out of emotion. Herein he differs

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vitality from Piero, his teacher, and from Signorelli, for whom force is supreme. To Melozzo it is of itself without interest, while action as it results from impelling emotion is the important thing.

The emotion Melozzo sought to indicate, and the action he recorded in figures placed in difficult positions, he displayed with a draughtsmanship which is certain, swift, and remarkably convincing. It shows not only in an ability to articulate forms properly and to move figures easily, but also in the power to depict likenesses most naturalistically. His gift for portraiture is no better shown than in the group of Sixtus and his attendants in the Sistine library.

If on the whole Melozzo does not strike as solemn a note as Piero or Signorelli, he touches an emotional quality that neither knew. He has greater flexibility and dexterity than either. Wherein he falls behind them is in allowing the spectator to feel that his knowledge of perspective and his ability to represent action are of more importance than the spiritual content of his pictures.

CHAPTER XX

The Paduan School: Andrea Mantegna

THE influence of the art of Mantegna and Padua is so conspicuous in the work of certain painters of Venice that before taking up that last important school of painting in Italy we should consider it for a bit.

Any study of the art of Padua must take into account that this city was, beside Florence, the only other great center of humanistic learning in Italy. Her venerable university, founded in the year 1220, had grown rapidly and attracted to itself great numbers of students from Northern Europe. As in Florence, the atmosphere of Padua was intellectual, and its interests were deeply rooted in the classical past. It was, therefore, only natural that its art should show the influence of Greece and Rome.

The founder of this school is traditionally given as Francesco Squarcione, the son of a well-to-do notary. He was born in 1394 and died in 1474. In his youth he is said to have shown an interest in drawing and to have traveled extensively in Greece and Italy. From these journeys he brought back many drawings.

When he set himself up as an artist is hard to say. As late as 1423 he was well known as a tailor and embroiderer. In fact, it is not until 1439 that we get our first reference to him as a painter. After that, from 1441 to 1463, he is mentioned on the books of the Guild

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of Painters of Padua and by 1452 had made a name for himself as the head of a school.

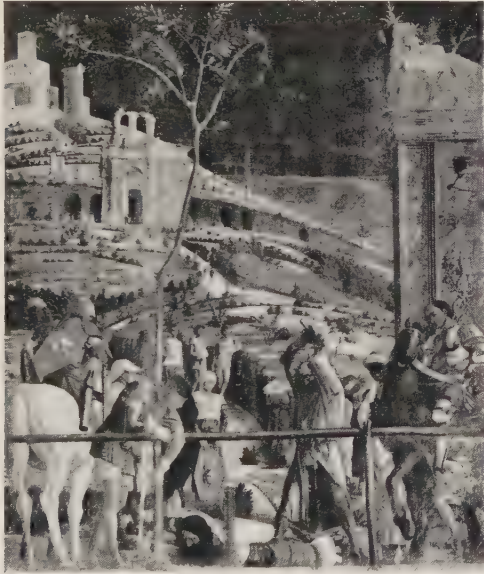
It is rather in the latter capacity that he excelled than as an artist, for Vasari and other writers take special pains to say that he was a much better teacher than painter. His method of instruction was to refer his students—and one hundred and thirty-seven are stated to have passed through his studio—to ancient statues and their reproductions, and to copies of paintings. These objects he kept in his possession as a means of instruction.

The difficulty in arriving at anything like a definite conception of the art of Squarcione is that the only two pictures which with any degree of certainty can be assigned to him—a polyptych showing St. Jerome and four other saints, in the Municipal Gallery at Padua, and a panel showing Mary and the Child, in Berlin—are so different in style that it is hard to think of them as coming from the same hand. As a fact, they are probably the works of two different painters engaged in the business house of which Squarcione was the manager. The best that can be said for this man is that he was very likely a mediocre painter, but that we have nothing positive upon which to base our estimation of his art.

Squarcione adopted and may have taught Andrea Mantegna, who was born at Vicenza, near Padua, in 1431. What he apparently did for Mantegna was to direct his attention to classical models and to turn him in the direction of naturalism. But the presence in Padua of Filippo Lippi, Uccello, and Donatello, to say nothing of Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel, must have gone far to help Mantegna to develop that realistic power which is so marked in his art.

THE PADUAN SCHOOL

Venice, through the work of Antonio Vivarini, had much to do with the formation of Paduan art, and Mantegna himself felt the later Venetian influence through Jacopo Bellini. So much more potent, however, was Mantegna in affecting the work of his Venetian contem-



Eremitani, Padua

Alinari

ANDREA MANTEGNA: "EXECUTION OF
ST. JAMES"

poraries and so much do certain of the latter borrow from the Paduan, or Squarcionesque, school that we may neglect the influence of Venice in our present discussion. Certainly at the time we are considering the indebtedness was on the side of Venice.

Mantegna's dated Paduan works that have been pre-

served are the frescoes in the Chapel of Sts. James and Christopher in the Church of the Eremitani. They belong probably in the years 1448-1455 and show Mantegna already working in that grandiose, austere manner that characterizes his later art.

These pictures produce an impressive effect given by the architectural setting and the statuesque appearance of the figures. The spirit is thoroughly classical, and the architecture is studied with a care indicative of familiarity with Florentine tradition.

It would be difficult to find a more vivid presentation of exertion than is seen in the "Execution of James," where the straining executioner with gritted teeth swings his huge mallet so forcefully as to rip the seam of his sleeve. The foreshortened body of the saint, of the horse, and the drawing of a soldier leaning over the rail so that he projects from the picture, all show an artist enthusiastically setting for himself all the difficult problems he could.

Mantegna's forms are hard and his drapery chiseled as if strongly influenced by sculpture; but these are not, in the painter's mind, faults to be overcome, for this hardness remains throughout his life an outward expression, as it were, of his own grim nature. When we remember that these great works were done while Mantegna was in his twenties, we get some idea of the power of this master painter of Padua.

Probably Mantegna's interest in drawing and perspective was stimulated by Jacopo Bellini. The latter, with his two sons, was working in Padua as early as 1451, and the young Paduan became intimately acquainted with them—in 1454 marrying Jacopo's daughter, Niccolosia.

THE PADUAN SCHOOL

This was about the time that Mantegna broke with Squarcione and, much to the disgust of the latter, betook himself to study the Venetian painter's method. Together with Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Mantegna had access to Jacopo's famous sketchbook, and from a study of it seems to have awakened to an interest in nature



Camera degli Sposi, Mantua

Alinari

ANDREA MANTEGNA: "THE GONZAGA FAMILY"

as well as in drawing and perspective. So much of the Bellinesque manner did he absorb that some of the early works of Mantegna and Giovanni have been confused one with the other.

The Eremitani frescoes made Mantegna famous and, at the invitation of the Marquis of Mantua, he took up his residence in that city in 1459. There in 1474 he finished his remarkable decorations in the Camera degli

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Sposi, in which, upon the four walls of the room, he represented episodes from the court life of the Gonzagas.

By the use of pilasters, hangings, and glimpses of distant landscapes the artist removes as it were the walls of the room, expanding the method of decoration which in more rudimentary form he attempted in the Chapel of the Eremitani. Somewhat stiff as the figures are, they show a highly developed power of characterization.

Perhaps the most unusual part of the decoration is the treatment of the low vault, where Mantegna opens up the ceiling by giving a distant view of a cloudy sky. The illusion of openness is enhanced by the heads which look down over the parapet, the peacocks seated on the edge, and the cupids, who, seen directly from below, lean against the parapet itself.

The next great work at Mantua is the "Triumph of Cæsar" which he began in the eighties. In this the painter set himself the task of showing his knowledge of classical archæology. The picture was finished in the early nineties. These are his three great efforts.

Besides them he found time to do many smaller works, but it should be remembered that in the altarpieces he is less likely to show his monumental character. He does, however, maintain his interest in classical detail which is sometimes carried out with the precision of miniature work. Of this character is one of his finest altarpieces—the "Madonna of Victory," now in the Louvre. It was finished in the year 1496 and is therefore a work of his old age. The figures are so posed and so pensive as to produce a feeling of reverence. The fruits, which the Paduan school so often introduced into its pictures, the old painter now once more employs.

THE PADUAN SCHOOL

So influenced was Mantegna by classic art that it would be an injustice to him to end our study of his work with-



Louvre, Paris

Alinari

ANDREA MANTEGNA: "THE MADONNA
OF VICTORY"

out speaking of the wonderfully beautiful "Parnassus" which about 1497 he painted for Isabella d'Este. After seeing him maintain throughout the major part of his

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life a feeling for massive energy and vigor, it is startling to find the aged painter in these last years adventuring into a realm of poesy. Yet it would be hard to imagine a lovelier presentation of classic grace than this with its perfect rhythm in the faultlessly proportioned muses, and the exquisite suavity of the lines in the soft form of Venus.

Before taking leave of Mantegna one must bear in mind that besides being a finished engraver he showed a power as a portrait painter which places him upon a level with the best of his time. Of Mantegna's drawing little need be said. From his earliest days his preoccupation in this is marked; and his skill develops as he moves on in life.

The influence of the Paduan school and particularly Mantegna was most potent in northern Italy. The art of the great Paduan gave vigor to painting in this quarter and in Venice, as it reflected itself in the work of the Bellini brothers.

CHAPTER XXI

Venetian Painting: The Beginnings

VENICE had always lived apart from the rest of Italy. Its commercial interests lay in the East and its first forms of artistic expression are Oriental, or, to give them another name, Byzantine. With its increased wealth the City of the Lagoons took a peculiar pleasure in the pomp of ceremonial, and this mood found a perfect form of expression in the splendid if hieratic art of Byzantium. Although in name a republic, Venice was distinctly aristocratic, and no art was better fitted to express the moods of a proud state than the decorative, Byzantine art.

It is probably for this reason that, long after Giotto had painted his great frescoes in the not distant city of Padua, and after Tuscany had awakened to an artistic consciousness which aimed at a realistic presentation of nature, Venice still lagged behind, contented with the hieratic art of the East. Her fondness for it continued to the close of the fourteenth century, when gradually by force of outside influences her art began to take on slowly some of the characteristics developing elsewhere in Italy.

Paolo da Venezia

One of the first painters to show discontent with the stiffness of Byzantine forms is Paolo da Venezia, whose

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active life extends through the years 1337 to 1358. While his figures still have the elongated proportions of traditional Byzantine art, the painter tried to give them a personality unknown to the old school. It is this dissatisfaction with the Eastern formula which separates him from those artists who persisted in the use of the old methods.



Isola di Veglia

Alinari

PAOLO DA VENEZIA: "ST. LUCY AND SAINTS"

He had a feeling for the picturesque unfamiliar to the earlier school.

Lorenzo; Stefano; Donato; Caterino; Semitecolo

Paolo was followed in the second half of the century by Lorenzo and Stefano da Venezia, Donato, Caterino, and Nicoletto Semitecolo, who make more or less feeble

VENETIAN PAINTING: THE BEGINNINGS

efforts to infuse life into the Byzantine manner of working. Of these, Semitecolo shows the most talent. In 1367 he painted scenes from the life of St. Sebastian at Padua, in which he displays a notably cheerful color. In these and in the "Coronation of the Virgin" he shows a commendable knowledge of perspective, and altogether a



Academy, Venice

Naya

SEMITECOLO: "CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN"

decided intention to render his paintings more naturalistic and attractive than did the Byzantines.

The work of this group well illustrates the earlier phase of Venetian painting, and the struggle to get away from the constraint of the formal style of Byzantium. What caused this feeling of restlessness was the coming into Venice of Gothic influences. These are obvious enough in the architecture of this period, and unquestionably the naturalism

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of Gothic painting and sculpture impressed the Venetians with the need of making their own art less schematic.

Guariento

This discontent with local work was possibly the cause which in 1365 led to the calling of Guariento of Padua to



Ducal Palace, Venice

GUARIENTO: "CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN"

Venice to paint in the Hall of the Gran Consiglio. He had already made his reputation at home where, under the compulsion of Giotto's teaching, he had modified the old Byzantine forms. It was the naturalistic style of Giotto that Guariento brought to Venice, and it was in this indirect fashion that the art of Tuscany found its way first into the city.

Guariento's work for the Hall of the Grand Council

VENETIAN PAINTING: THE BEGINNINGS

consisted of the "Paradise," the "Arrival of Alexander III at Venice" and the "War of Spoleto." The "Paradise," painted in monochrome, later concealed by Tintoretto's treatment of the same subject, was recovered in a practically ruined state in 1903. The other pictures have been lost. The painting has a grandeur unknown to the Venetian painters and must have had much to do with the stimulation of art in Venice.

For some reason the Venetians who were ready to employ a painter like Guariento were unable to recognize the worth of their own citizen, Antonio Veneziano. He seems to have obtained his Giottesque love of naturalism from Agnolo Gaddi and belongs rather with the Florentine than the Venetian, Gothic-Byzantine school. So startling to his own townsmen was his style that he was forced to find employment outside his native city. In 1384 he was invited to finish, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, the "Legend of St. Ranieri" left incomplete by the death of Andrea da Firenze. The naturalistic effects in these frescos are such as would naturally startle the aristocratic Venetians brought up with the conventional, yet decorative, work of the Byzantines.

Niccolò di Pietro

Guariento was dead by 1370, and the tradition which he established was carried on by Niccolò di Pietro, whose *floruit* is from 1394 to 1404. In a panel, dated 1394, in the Academy at Venice he has painted Mary enthroned with the Child upon her knee. At the left kneels a diminutive figure, perhaps the donor, equally small figures of musical angels stand on pedestals on either side

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of Mary, while above on the back of the throne are an Annunciation and a group of small angelic forms supporting a cloth behind Mary. The disproportion ob-



Academy, Venice

Alinari

NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO: "VIRGIN AND CHILD"

servable in the sizes of the figures and the formal disposition of Mary and the Child recall decidedly the traditions of the Byzantine school, and the foliate decorations on various parts of the throne show the influence of Gothic art upon Venetian painting

VENETIAN PAINTING: THE BEGINNINGS

Niccolò, nevertheless, infinitely more than his predecessors, has obtained the quality of relief in the figures and has actually modeled the forms and drapery by light and shade instead of drawing them as was the custom in Byzantine art. The gestures are easier and more gracious, the expressions of the features milder and more gentle, than in the work of earlier painters. He faces most decidedly toward the fifteenth rather than backward toward the fourteenth century. But when one remembers that the painting was created when Giotto had been dead for over a half century it is pathetically obvious how reactionary was Venetian art.

This situation was apparently recognized by the Venetian authorities themselves, so that, when it was decided to decorate the Hall of the Grand Council, Gentile da Fabriano was given the commission. In the second decade of the century Pisanello was at work in the city. Niccolò di Pietro is the last of the line of artists who advanced Venetian painting before the arrival of Gentile da Fabriano.

Jacobello del Fiore

After Niccolò, and contemporary with Gentile, comes Jacobello del Fiore, who was born not later than 1387. His artistic activity covers the period extending from near the beginning of the fifteenth century until the year of his death, 1440. His earliest work is of the year 1415, after he had met and perhaps worked in collaboration with Gentile da Fabriano. This unfortunately is merely a picture of the official Lion of St. Mark and therefore permits little chance for a consideration of his artistic inheritances.

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His "Justice," painted in 1421, is more instructive. The movement is accentuated and sinuous, and the drapery swirls in the same fashion as in Gothic art. The effect is decidedly decorative. The suggestion of exaggeration points toward a baroque interpretation of the Gothic spirit.

Evidence of Gothic influence is clear enough in Jacobello's art. At the same time the quality of gracious-



Academy, Venice

Alinari

JACOBELLO DEL FIORE: "JUSTICE"

ness seen in the heads of his figures and the rich effect produced by the use of gilt-embossed decoration suggest rather forcibly that the painter had acquired something of his decorative tendencies from Gentile da Fabriano. His position as a painter in the city of Venice must have been a highly honored one, for he was President of the Guild of Painters from 1415 to 1436.

Giambono

The new tendencies just noted reappear in the paintings of a somewhat less individual artist, Michele Giambono, the son of a painter of Treviso, by name Taddeo.

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His name Giambono was acquired from his grandfather, who was known as Giovanni Bono, or Zambon. Giambono's style is well illustrated in the polyptych of the Academy at Venice in which St. James the Major appears in the center with John the Evangelist and Philip



Academy, Venice

Alinari

MICHELE GIAMBONO: "ST. JAMES AND FOUR
OTHER SAINTS"

Benizi, or St. Bernard, at the left, and Sts. Michael and Louis at the right. The heads are large with projecting cheekbones, retreating foreheads, long noses, large eyes with brilliant whites, and large ears. These characteristics seem to be an inheritance from the Byzantine school. The softening of the types may be due to contact with the art of Gentile da Fabriano, although, generally speak-

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ing, Giambono felt the spell of Gentile's art less than his contemporary, Jacobello.

In 1444 Giambono had a hand in the execution of a series of mosaics decorating the vaulting of the Cappella dei Mascoli in St. Mark's. At the left are represented the birth of the Virgin and the presentation of the Virgin.



St. Mark's, Venice

Alinari

MICHELE GIAMBONO: "BIRTH AND PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN"

These are signed by Giambono. At the right are the "Visitation" and the "Death of the Virgin." The architectural setting is so suggestive of the style of Jacopo Bellini that it is generally felt that, if Jacopo did not himself prepare the architectural design, at least his influence was felt in this particular. In the scene representing the death of the Virgin it is believed by some critics that the hand of Andrea del Castagno is to be detected.

VENETIAN PAINTING: THE BEGINNINGS

For the rest, the work appears to be Giambono's. If this analysis is correct, it shows how thoroughly the Renaissance movement in painting, with all its realistic tendencies, was making its way into Venice and how Giambono was profiting by its teaching.



St. Mark's, Venice

. Alinari

MICHELE GIAMBONO AND ANDREA DEL
CASTAGNO: "DEATH OF THE VIRGIN"

Antonio da Negroponte

Contemporary with Jacobello is Antonio da Negroponte, who signed an Enthroned Madonna now in the Church of S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice. Although Mary in the matter of features invites comparison with

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Jacobello's Justice, her figure is more graceful. The elaborate sculptural treatment of the throne and the employment of a festoon, or arch, of flowers and fruits, suggests the classical influence of the Squarcionesque school of Padua.

Antonio exhibits considerable knowledge of space painting and of linear perspective. His modeling of the figures for which he employs a delicate yet living flesh color is solid, and the drawing is precise if hard. Light and shade are employed with considerable skill. The drapery is modeled and not drawn. It is, after the fashion of the painters of the time, heavily brocaded, and this may point to an influence coming from Gentile, who was fond of so ornamenting the robes of his figures. The likeness which Antonio bears to Carlo Crivelli in the use of decorative detail, and the employment of fruits in festoons, suggests that possibly Antonio may have been Crivelli's teacher.

CHAPTER XXII

Venetian Painting Continued: the Muranese School

THE art of Venice was now definitely committed to a progressive development, and in the work of its next important painter, Jacopo Bellini, it inaugurated what is really the school which reached its consummation in Giorgione and Titian. But, before following this line of development, it is necessary to consider the art which had its origin in the neighboring island of Murano and, for a while, was a serious competitor of the school of the main island of Venice.

From the earliest times the island of Murano lived its life apart from Venice. Even in the beginning it had an art of its own, poor though it might be, which had produced works in painting, mosaic, and architecture. Glass manufacture, in the fifteenth century its chief industry, was guarded with a jealousy which made it punishable by death for one of its master glass-workers to leave the island. Possibly the color instinct as developed in the manufacture of glass contributed to the development of painting on the island in the fifteenth century, which is a continuation of the style established in the fourteenth century by Paolo da Venezia, Lorenzo da Venezia, and the other representatives of the Byzantine-Gothic tradition.

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Antonio Vivarini; Giovanni Alemanus

The Muranese school begins with Antonio da Murano, or, as he is later designated, Antonio Vivarini. The earliest reference to him is of the year 1440, when he signed a polyptych in the cathedral at Parenzo. He died some time between 1476 and 1491. About 1441 he entered into partnership with Giovanni da Murano, also known as Giovanni Alemanus, or d'Alemagna. This partnership lasted until the death of Giovanni in 1450. Afterward he worked in company with his own younger brother, Bartolommeo.

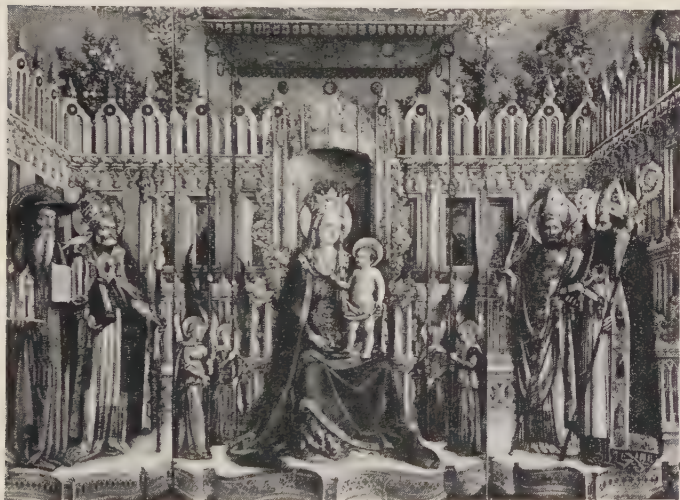
It is impossible to say positively who Antonio's teachers were. But in perhaps his earliest work, the "Adoration of the Magi," now in Berlin, we find indications of a knowledge of the art of Pisanello and of Gentile da Fabriano which lead one to suppose that Antonio, while perhaps not in personal touch with these men, at least tried to improve his own art by a reference to their productions.

The influence of Giovanni appears in the Parenzo polyptych. This work was signed by Antonio alone in 1440. In the next year, apparently, was established that artistic partnership which terminated with the death of Giovanni. On the basis of documentary evidence the two painters seem to have begun working together in 1441, yet it is not until 1443 that we meet with them as partners.

The most ambitious product of the partners is the Enthroned Madonna and Child flanked by angels and the four Doctors of the Church, in the Academy at Venice. In this the characteristics of Giovanni's style are obvious.

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The heavy architectural background, the decided fondness for Gothic form and ornament seen in this feature as well as in the throne, the Gothic character of the throne itself, and the manifest love for overloaded ornament are earmarks of the German style. The fuller faces and



Academy, Venice

Alinari

ANTONIO VIVARINI AND GIOVANNI ALEMANUS:
"MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS"

the stronger flesh color point likewise to Giovanni and not to Antonio.

The last work undertaken by Giovanni and Antonio was the decoration of the Chapel of the Eremitani at Padua, where they were to have painted half the chapel.

It was a fortunate thing for the Muranese school that Giovanni died when he did. It is true that his advent meant a certain increase in vigor; on the other hand, his

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fondness for overelaboration and heaviness meant the suppression of charm and naturalism quite as much as did the continuation of the Byzantine style.

It was not through Antonio alone that the school of Murano was to be advanced. The latter painter by this time, 1450, had become too set in his ways to profit much by any changes taking place in painting. The Squarcionesque influences streaming in from Padua left Antonio practically untouched. Whatever modification took place in the Muranese manner at this moment was due to Antonio's younger brother, Bartolommeo.

Bartolommeo Vivarini

Giovanni was hardly dead in 1450 when Antonio, in company with Bartolommeo, born in 1432, completed an altarpiece of ambitious proportions which is one of the most graceful among North Italian paintings. The work shows two rows of figures set in a delicate Gothic frame. In the lower row sits Mary with the Child asleep on her knees, while on either hand stand two saints. At the left are a bishop and St. Jerome, at the right St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas of Bari. In the upper row (shown in half-length) is a Pietà in the center with Peter and Gregory at the left and Augustine (?) and Paul at the right.

Antonio still makes use of the throne to which Giovanni had introduced him, but now, freed from the immediate presence of his former partner, he lightened its proportions in keeping with his own tendency toward grace. In the drawing there is the same definiteness of outline, bordering on hardness, seen in Antonio's earlier

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work, and the forms are still slender and large-headed. But the saints are less rigidly posed than in the joint works of Giovanni and Antonio, and swing easily to one side so that the weight is carried on one leg.



Bologna

Alinari

ANTONIO AND BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI:
"MARY AND CHILD"

This change, as well as the motive of the Child sleeping upon the Virgin's lap, may be due to Bartolommeo, the younger brother, who felt the classical influence possibly through the visit of Donatello at Venice, or through contact with the classical movement of Padua with which

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he may have become familiar in the course of his journeying. At all events, Giovanni's heaviness is gone. As yet, of course, Bartolommeo, being the younger, has not declared himself so positively as Antonio. But Antonio



S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice

Anderson

BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI: "MARY AND CHILD"

has reached the limit of his development and soon, when left to himself, shows signs of decadence.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the association of the brothers was of short duration. It may have terminated by 1459, for in that year Bartolommeo signs alone. Bartolommeo from that date was the one re-

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sponsible for the progress of the Muranese school. His activity extends over practically the second half of the fifteenth century. We have documentary evidence for his existence up to at least 1490.

Soon after the dissolution of the partnership Bartolommeo gave ample proof of the emancipation of his style and the acquisition of Squarcionesque influences.

In 1478 he created an altarpiece, now in the Church of S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice, showing Mary with the Child on her knees seated between the Baptist and St. Andrew. Mary is of more ample proportions than she shows in earlier works and suggests the type usually associated with Alvise Vivarini. The Child, too, is more vivacious. The John finds its prototype in the works of Mantegna, although the form has become weak and emaciated. The same is true of St. Andrew. The folding of drapery of both saints is paperlike. Nevertheless from his contemporaries Bartolommeo has learned at least one important thing—to omit all embossing and brocading. The altarpiece of the Frari, painted in 1478, is done in much the same mood.

By the last decade of the fifteenth century Bartolommeo had done his best. After this there is little in his work to demand consideration. He is still productive, but carelessness, the necessary employment of assistants, exhaustion, or inability to keep pace with the progress of the time, makes his art drier and less interesting. He has nothing more to contribute to the advancement of Venetian painting.

His fault lay in accepting too literally the classical teaching of the Paduans, which in him appeared as hard drawing and eventually as a parchment-like texture of

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the skin. His chief contribution to the school of the Vivarini is a quality of realism hitherto unknown to it. When Bartolommeo ceased to be of further value to this school, the work was carried on by Luigi, or Alvise, Vivarini, Antonio's son.

Alvise Vivarini

This artist, born about 1446, in all likelihood received his early training from his father and his uncle Bartolommeo. But just how much he leaned toward one or the other in his early years perhaps we shall never know, because of lack of works from this period of his life. From documents we learn that in 1464 he was employed along with Giovanni Bellini in the Scuola di S. Girolamo, which would suggest that at the age of about eighteen he was more or less recognized as a painter. It may be added that in all probability, as a result of this association, the young Alvise may have learned something of Bellinesque methods of work. His first dated picture does not appear until 1475, when he painted a Madonna and Child at Montefiorentino.

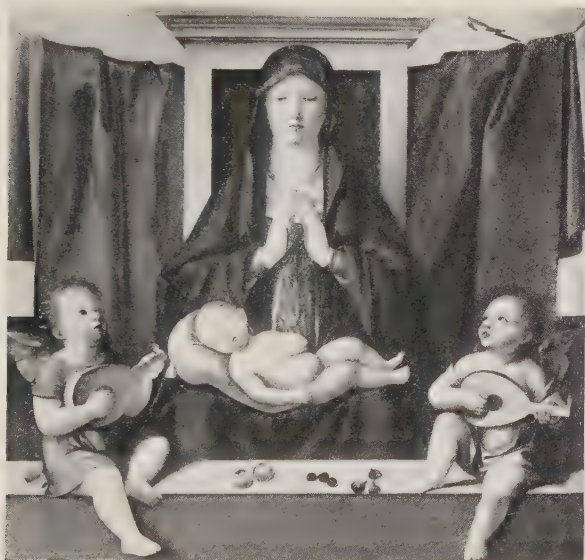
During the next five years Alvise made notable advances in his art. Among other things he discarded the antiquated polyptych for unified composition.

About 1480 he seems to have felt the influence of Antonello da Messina, slight traces of whose style may be detected in the precision with which some of the features are drawn and in a certain hardness in the painting of the flesh.

The growing influence of Giovanni Bellini is most obvious in one of the loveliest creations of the Venetian

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school at this time—Luigi's "Madonna adoring the Child," in the Church of the Redeemer, Venice. It dates in the neighborhood of 1489. The serenity of Giovanni has penetrated this work, and the light likewise reflects his teaching. The sleeping Child and the delightful little



Church of the Redeemer, Venice

Alinari

ALVISE VIVARINI: "MADONNA AND CHILD"

angels might have stepped out of one of Giovanni's own works.

That Alvise at this moment of his life was conscious of the value of the art of his great competitor is made clear by the fact that in the preceding year, 1488, he had written to the Signory, offering to execute work for them in the technique then being exploited by the Bellini.

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This technique was in all probability oil painting. With this medium Alvise apparently had been experimenting for some years—perhaps impelled to do so by the stimulus of the success of Antonello da Messina and his followers, the Bellini brothers. How closely he came to rivaling Giovanni can be appreciated by a consideration of the “Madonna and Child” just mentioned. Painting at Venice under the teaching of the Bellini was now rapidly moving into that suave style which became one of the distinctive characteristics of later Venetian art, and Alvise, in this picture, demonstrates his consciousness of the need of giving over the drier manner of the Muranese for the blander style of the Bellini.

By 1498, when the “Risen Saviour” in the Church of S. Giovanni in Bragora was created, Alvise had passed over entirely into the Renaissance. The figure in smoothness of proportions and the affected grace of its movement is suggestive of the spirit of classic art. The feeling for rhythm perhaps deprives the figure of impressiveness, but the serenity of its countenance and the caressing handling of the light and shade which so softly models the form give it a compensating grace. Particularly successful in the matter of drawing, lighting, and in the expression of rapt attention are the youthful figures behind our Lord.

With Alvise the Muranese school runs out. Trained in the somewhat archaic traditions of his father and the rather more advanced one of his uncle, he strove with considerable success to keep pace with his powerful rivals, the Bellini. But, fine as some of his works are, he never reached that serene beauty which made Giovanni Bellini so predominant. Not that he was not held in

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high estimation by his compatriots—for he was. After his petition to the Signory in 1488 he was accepted by that body as one of their painters. But it is indicative of his position that he was given less pay. Apparently, in spite of his assertions, the technique of oil which the Bellini, especially Giovanni, had so completely mastered offered certain difficulties which he was unable to solve.

He presents, however, an interesting personality in the history of Venetian painting, for in him we observe the last traces of the Gothic-Byzantine style fading away under the coercion of the classicism of Padua and the balmy style of the Bellinis coming to soften the austerity of the Paduan classicism. He had followers, but their interest goes no further than that which attaches to their own works. They contributed little to the advancement of painting in the City of the Lagoons.

CHAPTER XXIII

Venetian Painting Continued: Carlo Crivelli

ANOTHER painter who in his early days was apparently influenced by Antonio Vivarini and curiously insisted upon maintaining an archaistic style which was built, in part at least, upon the Squarcionesque tradition, is Carlo Crivelli.

He was born probably about 1440. His last dated painting belongs in the year 1493, which may be that of his death. He was born a Venetian, for he invariably designated himself in his signature as of that city. His insistence in this particular is explained by the fact that after 1469, the year of his first dated work, he never lived in Venice, but spent his life in the Marches. He had fallen in love with another's wife and apparently the city was not large enough for the two men.

Starting with an indebtedness to Antonio Vivarini, Crivelli soon began to acquire Squarcionesque mannerisms. These at first did not take on the delicate affectation of his later years. The face he draws is broader and heavier, the hands not so slender and anatomically detailed. The style is that of one who draws with a feeling of uncertainty. His musical angels of those days may have been inspired by Bartolommeo Vivarini and, if so, indicate a slight relationship still existing between the two men.



National Gallery, London

Alinari

CARLO CRIVELLI: "MADONNA AND CHILD" *Damir*

On the other hand, these types may be a Paduan borrowing. Certainly elsewhere this Squarcionesque influence is apparent and shows Crivelli setting for himself the goal which he intended to make. His little-old-man type of Christ Child points to a contact with the Paduan style as do the festoon of fruit, the ruined wall, and the general use of marble or stone accessories. These fea-

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tures remain as constants in his pictures, but with a continued refinement in form and drawing. Even the pale red, watered-silk hanging, the brocaded mantle, are many times repeated in Crivelli's later works. Closely painted birds and delicately executed flowers are indications of that painstaking care which he expended on natural forms.

The Madonna and Child presented to Crivelli an interesting field for investigation, and practically to the end of his life he experimented with this subject. At times Mary is seated, with the Child standing on her knees, or the Child nestling against her neck. In all cases the artist exhibits a tireless invention. To follow these in detail would be to repeat characteristics already known. Sufficient is it to say that at times Mary stands behind a parapet, or sits upon an elaborate throne. Again and again appear Crivelli's favorite details. No better illustration of the latter characteristic can be cited than the exquisitely affected but lovely "Magdalen" of the Berlin Museum.

The perfection of Crivelli's style is seen in the great ancona executed in 1476 for the Dominican Church at Ascoli, and now in the National Gallery, London. The upper row of panels, while by Crivelli and of this period, are not parts of the original.

In the choice of the polyptych with its many divisions instead of the single panel Crivelli definitely indicates his intention to use his altarpieces for the purpose of decorative display rather than dignified design. Compositional instinct he lacks. Yet in other particulars he is not weak. In this altarpiece, for example, he shows precision in drawing and remarkable solidity in his forms. Here he uses the kind of figures which henceforth he employs;

only the wildly agitated type is missing. He has come to his master-craftsmanship, and during the next score of years produces some of the finest works of his artistic career. From now on he recognizes that his forte lies in emphasizing the decorative character of his work. Natural form he might undoubtedly understand, but this form he has no hesitation in working into affected positions for the sake of obtaining his mannered style.

In Crivelli's art spiritual intent gradually yields to decorative effect, until as one approaches the last decade of the century the decorative element assumes the ascendancy. In step with this goes a tendency to exaggerate emotion.

One of Crivelli's noticeable characteristics is that while painters elsewhere in Italy were working in the more flexible medium of oil, he continued consistently to employ tempera. Why he used this more difficult medium is hard to say. It may be that his removal from Venice to the remote Marches prevented him from keeping in touch with the development of the new phase of painting, or it may be that the delicate, if more refractory, method of tempera seemed to him better suited to his mood. Whatever the reason, Crivelli worked always in this medium, and carried its technique to a higher degree of perfection than any one else.

In his types Crivelli shows, by and large, two varieties. In one he expresses himself with a grace which is more apt than not to be self-conscious and affected; in the other he shows a savage, or at least a deeply emotional, spirit which often becomes as repellent as the graceful type is affected. This curious contradiction may be due to two causes. From the Byzantine school as represented by the

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Muranese, and more specifically from Antonio Vivarini, he may have derived the tender type, while from the Paduan school as it is illustrated in the work of the Squarcionesques he may have obtained the savage, or passionately emotional type. Giovanni Alemanus, or even Bartolommeo Vivarini, may have helped him toward it. Of course this savage male was already hinted at in the Byzantine school, but it needed the Paduan influence to develop it.

Even until late in his life Crivelli used the polyptych form of altarpiece which had been popular with the older members of the Muranese group, Antonio and Bartolommeo Vivarini.

Subject, or narrative, themes which naturally lend themselves to compositional arrangement, are rare in the list of his works. The only form of composition, if such it may be called, in which he attained success, is the *Pietà*. Unquestionably he was more at home in the depiction of solitary figures in which much action was not expected and to these he more or less devoted himself.

Certain features Crivelli repeats so often as to make them practically earmarks of his style. Such are the garland of fruit and vegetables hung above his figures, the elaborately brocaded costumes, and the realistic fracturing of the stones in his thrones or architecture. His work shows infinite patience. He never slights; and judging by the comparatively small number of his pictures—there are about fifty—he must have painted slowly. As a result of this painstaking technique his colors are pure and bright and his surfaces excellent.

He is a member of a dying school. He clung tenaciously to the past, bringing all that was good in the old

CARLO CRIVELLI

style to its ultimate perfection at a time when other artists were reaching forward into the new. In his own time he was held in honor. Ferdinand of Capua knighted him in 1490, and from that time on the proud painter never failed to indicate his distinction by incorporating the title *Miles* or *Eques Laureatus* in his signature. His personality was strong and left a distinct imprint upon two pupils, Vittorio Crivelli, who may have been a brother, and Petrus Alemanus.

CHAPTER XXIV

Jacopo Bellini

WE have followed the evolution of the Muranese school to its close. We can now retrace our steps to study the work of the group of painters who gave Venetian art its distinctive character. These men are the Bellini, Jacopo the father, and Gentile and Giovanni, the sons.

Jacopo Bellini was born about 1400. His earliest training he seems to have received from Gentile da Fabriano, with whom he left Venice as apprentice after the completion of the frescoes in the Doge's Palace. In 1423 he appears to have been involved in a quarrel at Florence, when Gentile's studio was attacked by young Florentines. The Jacopo, to be sure, referred to in the records is Jacopo di Pietro, whereas we now know Jacopo's father to have been a Venetian tinsmith named Niccolò Bellini. Some therefore think that the Jacopo of the Florentine episode is not Jacopo Bellini. On the other hand, the name Pietro may be a mistake of some Florentine clerk. Certainly the fact that Jacopo Bellini later named his first-born son Gentile would point to an intimate association of Jacopo and Gentile da Fabriano.

If Jacopo began his apprenticeship with Gentile when about fourteen, then he spent about ten years under the guidance of the distinguished Umbrian, and saw and un-

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doubtedly participated in the creation of Gentile's beautiful "Adoration of the Magi." Shortly afterward he went to Venice, called there by the drawing of his father's will, which was executed in 1424. This document mentions Jacopo as a trustee.



Museo Civico, Verona *Anderson*

JACOPO BELLINI: "CRUCIFIXION"

In 1436 Jacopo was in Verona, and in that year perhaps painted the oldest of his three signed pictures—the "Crucifixion" in the Museo Civico of the town. The modeling is of the most general character, in type and drawing suggesting familiarity rather with the Giottesques

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than the Byzantine. At the same time it indicates considerable knowledge of anatomy.

In 1441 he was invited to Ferrara to paint a portrait of Lionello d'Este. Working there in competition with Pisanello, he is reported to have produced so lifelike a portrait that his picture was judged the better. Possibly at this time he created the "Mary and Child adored by Lionello d'Este," now in the Louvre. In it Jacopo deserts his old teacher, Gentile, for Pisanello. Pisanello's influence shows not only in the cameo-like profile of the kneeling Lionello, but also in the little hill-towns, animals, and distant mountains. The type of landscape is new in Jacopo's style.

Another important date in Jacopo's life is 1453, when his daughter Niccolosia married Andrea Mantegna, for the marriage of the Paduan artist into the family of Jacopo Bellini brought about certain changes in the styles of Jacopo's two sons, Gentile and Giovanni.

Other works could be added to the list of Jacopo's paintings, but none of them gives so clear an impression of his versatility as his two remarkable sketchbooks. One is now in the British Museum, the other is in the Louvre. The former bears a note containing the name of Jacopo and the date 1430, on the strength of which it used to be supposed that the drawings belong then. But the entry was made later, possibly by Giovanni Bellini, and critics now disregard this in locating the time of the creation of the sketchbook. On the other hand, there are several drawings in the Louvre sketchbook, such as one for a funeral monument—possibly for Niccolò d'Este who died in 1446, the year Jacopo was in Ferrara—and many sketches of court scenes, knights, and even many repeti-

JACOPO BELLINI

tions of the crest of the d'Este family, namely the eagle, which point to the Ferrarese period as probably the time of the creation of this book.

If this date, which is close to the middle of the century, is correct, it is also the time of the book in the British Museum, since the two show practically the same degree of technical progress. Possibly the Louvre sketchbook is slightly later. Together they contain about two hundred drawings, done in silver point gone over largely with pen and ink. This working over may be later. In the British Museum example the drawings are at times worked up with greenish water color.

These drawings emphasize the alertness of Jacopo's mind. Not only are sacred and secular themes developed sometimes in several variations, but all sorts of animals are sketched time and again. Subjects from the New Testament, the lives of the saints and scenes from the life of the court he sketches frequently. In addition he betrays a keen interest in the peasant, or artisan, and in so doing shows himself one of the first genre painters of Italy. Even mythology came in for representation, and remains of classic sculpture were copied.

The artist's attention on the whole was attracted rather to the background than to the figures themselves. In the many architectural drawings he displays great interest in perspective, and while failing of results as learnedly complete as those of the Florentines, Uccello and Castagno, his effects are far from unsatisfactory. These sketchbooks show how he evolved this or that note in some particular subject; as, for instance, the "Crucifixion," until it reached a satisfactory state of completion. They show, too, that he was accustomed to draw his fig-

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ures first in the nude and then put drapery on them afterward.

Jacopo's drawing is not faultless. He has a habit, perhaps an inheritance from the older painters, of over-emphasizing the structure of the face, and at times a habit of drawing the arms and legs too long for the torso. His hands and feet also are usually ugly. His work stands midway between a primitive tradition and the flexible style of the naturalists of the Renaissance. Its stiffness suggests a painter struggling with his material. In landscape, in which he displayed a marked interest, he gives sometimes hard, bleak views, sometimes a feeling for the softness of fertile lands.

While Jacopo was wide-awake to his environment and catholic in his selection of subjects, he makes but little progress. The marked uniformity of his style as exemplified in these drawings, which probably extended over some years, indicates that he had then reached his maximum power, and that in composition and proportion of figures he fell far behind his Florentine contemporaries.

Although not one of the greatest artists, Jacopo's industry and curiosity made him a good teacher. As might be expected, he left an impression upon his two sons and his son-in-law, Andrea Mantegna. Gentile's landscapes resemble those of Jacopo's sketchbooks. Even in some of his early madonnas Gentile acknowledges his indebtedness to his father. Giovanni does the same in his "Christ Shedding His Blood" in the National Gallery, London. His Pietà in the Doge's Palace recalls Jacopo's in the Paris sketchbook. Between Mantegna and Jacopo it is easy to establish artistic relations. Mantegna had already seen that the classicism of Squarcione was not suited to

JACOPO BELLINI

his own progressive temperament, and he must have gladly turned for the inspiration of a fresher, more naturalistic character in the work of Jacopo. So thoroughly did he acquaint himself with the elder man's style that he incorporated bodily in his own pictures his rocky landscapes with winding roads, and, like Jacopo, made the sudden transition from foreground to background by the omission of his middle distance. He even inserted in his own foregrounds the little dead trees Jacopo was so fond of using in his.

CHAPTER XXV

Gentile Bellini and His Pupils

Gentile Bellini

GENTILE was born most likely in 1429. But it is not until 1460, when his name appears in association with that of his brother Giovanni as an assistant to his father on the Gattamelata altarpiece, that we have our first artistic reference to him.

Possibly the earliest pictures that can be assigned to Gentile are the organ shutters of St. Mark in Venice, which bear the artist's signature, and were created probably in the year 1464. On the front are the figures of St. Mark and St. Theodore, on the back "Francis Receiving the Stigmata" and "St. Jerome in the Desert." On the front the artist boldly adapted his setting, notably in the St. Mark panel, from Mantegna's picture at Padua in which James is led away to judgment. The festoon of fruit is a decoration one might expect an artist to use who had been affected by the Paduans. The massive saint suggests that Gentile was very conscious of Mantegna's type. The work is not that of a tyro. The saint is correctly placed and drawn and shows a power of characterization soon to appear so clearly in Gentile's portraiture—a field of work in which he was distinguished. The figure of Theodore is not so satisfactory.

GENTILE BELLINI AND HIS PUPILS

Its badly drawn left arm and thick, misshapen legs suggest repainting.

The subjects upon the reverse of the shutters offer a curious contrast. In them the artist, instead of maintaining the classic dignity and breadth of handling seen in Mantegna's work, copies the more or less precise, if not cramped, style of Jacopo. In the "Francis Receiving the Stigmata" the landscape is such as one might easily duplicate in the sketchbook of the father. The same is true of the Jerome panel.

In 1465 comes Gentile's earliest signed and dated work—a canvas in tempera showing the first patriarch of Venice, Lorenzo Giustiniani, blessing two adorants. Had Gentile never painted any other likeness but this, he would have established himself as a portraitist of the first order. The head is treated with a sincerity which is almost brutal. The parchment-like skin, tightly stretched over the bones, is as searchingly rendered as it would be by any northern painter.

Gentile's preëminence led the Emperor Frederick to confer upon him in 1469 the order of knighthood and to give him the title of *Comes Palatinatus*. Gentile unquestionably was now looked upon as one of the leaders in Venetian painting. In 1474 he was entrusted with the repairs of Gentile da Fabriano's precious paintings executed in the Doge's Palace at the beginning of the century.

If there had been any question of Gentile's claim to leadership, it was removed when, after receiving Sultan Mahomet's request for their best painter, the Signory of Venice sent him. In September, 1479, he departed for Constantinople. There he was held in high esteem by the

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Sultan for whom he painted many pictures and at least one portrait. Toward the end of 1480 he returned home



Museo di S. Marco, Venice *Anderson*

GENTILE BELLINI: "ST. MARK"

honored with gifts and the title of Bey. This title Gentile henceforth used in his signatures in the Latin form *Eques Auratus*.

Among the interesting remembrances of this Oriental

GENTILE BELLINI AND HIS PUPILS

sojourn are a number of sketches of persons in eastern costumes, and a splendid portrait of the Sultan himself. Examples of these sketches are to be found in the British Museum. Copies of others are in the Louvre and in the Staedel Museum at Frankfort. A particularly fine miniature representing a page writing is in the Gardner Collection, Boston. A study of Mahomet II shows that in the fifteen years which elapsed since the portrait of the Patriarch Giustiniani Gentile had learned much in the matter of painting likenesses.

Upon his return from the Orient Gentile resumed control of the work in the Hall of the Grand Council which, during his absence, had been entrusted to Giovanni. The two brothers, who had been in partnership since 1471, now proceeded to paint in this hall four great pictures dealing with the story of Frederic Barbarossa and his struggle with the Venetian State. These were subsequently destroyed by fire.

Probably while the canvases in the Doge's Palace were being executed, Gentile painted the attractive "Madonna and Child" of the Mond Collection, London. Its soft handling shows Gentile moving toward the subtler manner of painting, later found in the art of the younger brother, Giovanni. Its pensive mood reminds one of Giovanni, but the luxury of the robe, the elaboration of the setting and, in general, the posing of the figures point to some early work of Jacopo. Gentile's picture, executed in oil, while many of his other works up to now were done in tempera, bears his signature with addition of his knightly title. It was painted probably soon after his return from the East, and is the only madonna which can unhesitatingly be given to him.

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By this time apparently the Bellini brothers had perfected the technique of oil painting. Its possibilities had been presented to the Venetians in 1474 by Antonello da



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GENTILE BELLINI: "S. LORENZO
GIUSTINIANI"

Messina. Possibly the fame that the brothers were acquiring through the employment of this medium brought Titian to Gentile as a pupil about 1486.

Following his return from the East, Gentile was largely occupied with works for the State or the important con-

GENTILE BELLINI AND HIS PUPILS

fraternities. Notable among these are three great frescoes executed for the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista, and one for the Scuola di S. Marco. The first three treat of stories connected with the fragment of the Cross



National Gallery, London

Alinari

GENTILE BELLINI: "MAHOMET II"

which was in the possession of the Brotherhood of St. John. One represented the relic carried in solemn procession through the Piazza di San Marco, the second showed the rescue of the relic after it had fallen into a canal, and the third was concerned with the miraculous healing of one Piero di Ludovico.

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The first completed was the "Procession in the Piazza di San Marco," which the painter signed in the year 1496. With its painstaking accuracy of detail it reveals the artist in perhaps his most characteristic mood—as a painter of throngs. The square before the Church of St. Mark with all its adjacent buildings is represented as



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GENTILE BELLINI: "PROCESSION OF THE CROSS"

if in a photograph. The perspective is excellent, the feeling for space impressive, and the power of the artist in the introduction of scores of portrait heads remarkable. There is no monotony. Some of the participants move solemnly along as if impressed with the dignity of their occupation; some hold their candles properly upright, while others allow them to lean; the older members of the procession seem lost in a speculative mood, while the

GENTILE BELLINI AND HIS PUPILS

younger ones, particularly among the musicians, look curiously around at their neighbors.

Four years after completing this great work Gentile finished the "Rescue of the Relic of the Cross from the Canal," in which he attacked and succeeded with a more or less difficult problem of perspective. The story is this



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GENTILE BELLINI: "RESCUE OF THE RELIC OF THE CROSS"

—on the day when the relic was being borne to the Church of S. Lorenzo so great was the crowd of people at one place that the relic was pushed into the canal. Although many hastened to recover it, it avoided rescue until Andrea Vendramin, a high official in the Confraternity of St. John, leaped in. When it moved toward him, he seized it and rescued it.

The tale is told with more emphasis upon the narra-

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tive than appears in the "Procession." But the real interest is the changing lights on the sides of the buildings, the photographic depiction of palaces and houses, the



Mond Collection, London

GENTILE BELLINI: "MADONNA AND CHILD"

colors and the crowds. One wishes that the artist might not have felt compelled to introduce the piously kneeling men in the right foreground and the line of equally pious and rigid women along the edge of the canal at the left. But admitting that these figures are disturbing from the

GENTILE BELLINI AND HIS PUPILS

point of view of a realistic presentation of the scene, they are extremely good portraits. Particularly worthy of note in this connection are the interestingly individualized heads of the men in the immediate right foreground.

The last great work of Gentile's life, and the fourth of the series already mentioned, is the "Preaching of St. Mark in Alexandria." This picture, done for the Scuola di S. Marco, was left unfinished when the artist died in 1507. It was completed by Giovanni. Local atmosphere Gentile tried to obtain by the introduction of minarets, an obelisk, a camel, and by the use of Oriental costumes.

Mansueti; Girolamo da Santa Croce

Gentile had several pupils, among them Giovanni Mansueti and Girolamo da Santa Croce, both men of inferior rank who play no part in the development of Venetian art. Mansueti's "Miracle of the Cross," now in the Academy at Venice, painted in the year 1494, little more than weakly paraphrases Gentile's picture of the same name. His figures are wooden, unattractive, and lack the vitality of those by Gentile. This fact, however, seems not to have occurred to Mansueti, for he boastingly signs the work with the statement, "*opus Joannis de Mansuetis Veneti recte sententiam Bellini discipuli.*" The picture suggests that Mansueti was familiar with Carpaccio's style. Girolamo da Santa Croce is another weak artist who tried to acquire the style of his master. How much Gentile thought of him is shown by his leaving several of his drawings to him. Marco Marziale in 1495 signs himself as a pupil of Gentile. But he, like

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GIOVANNI MANSUETI: "MIRACLE OF THE CROSS"

the others, got no farther than to paint stiff forms which lack the vitality of Gentile's. All of Gentile's own pupils belong to this class. Those of worth who started out in his studio soon found it more advantageous to associate with the younger brother Giovanni, and eventually with Giorgione.

There is such a marked resemblance in the matter of spirit between Gentile and Carpaccio when they paint narrative themes that one might think the young Carpaccio learned something from the venerable artist. Gentile's contribution to Venetian painting was the vitalizing of portraiture and the development of the narrative picture. He was unable, however, to adopt the softer style that Giovanni Bellini and the younger painters were evolving.

CHAPTER XXVI

Giovanni Bellini

GIOVANNI BELLINI carried on from the point where Gentile stopped. When he was born we do not know, but he was younger than his brother. He outlived him by nine years, dying in 1516.

Owing to the fact that before 1470 Giovanni does not sign his works, and does not trouble to date them until late in the nineties, there is some difficulty in tracing his artistic evolution. But his earliest teacher was undoubtedly his father. Somewhere about 1453 he began to feel the influence of the more precocious and vigorous Mantegna, traces of whose style do not disappear until late in the seventies.

Giovanni's formative period began probably about 1450 and lasted until about 1480, when he seems to have freed himself from any influence of Jacopo or Mantegna. It is impossible to arrange Giovanni's early works indisputably in the order of their production. There is every reason to believe that in the fifties and in the following order were created the "Crucifixion" and the "Transfiguration," both of the Correr Museum in Venice, and the "Agony on the Mount of Olives." The last was done about 1455. In them we see the hard drawing of forms and the feeling for landscape taken from Jacopo Bellini, while from Andrea Mantegna are derived the

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wet, clinging drapery and at times even the very postures of the forms.

In the points in which he surpasses Andrea, Giovanni



Correr Museum, Venice

Alinari

GIOVANNI BELLINI: "TRANSFIGURATION"

indicates the primary difference which separates the two men. For example, while Mantegna's work creates a feeling of austerity if not of bleakness, because of the hard, rocky formation of the background, Giovanni's

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landscape is softened by a poetic quality unknown to its rival. The lighting is more subtle, more mysteriously suggestive of the imminent dawn, the distance is remark-



Academy, Venice

Alinari

GIOVANNI BELLINI: "MADONNA DEGLI ALBERETTI"

ably deep, and the whole scene flooded with a feeling of soft air. Giovanni is always the more pensively poetic painter. What he loses in vigor by giving up Mantegna's harsher forms and backgrounds he gains in poesy. Even

his figures of the slumbering apostles, if more obtrusively placed than need be, are more suggestive of deep-breathing sleep than Mantegna's rigid, statuesque forms.

The pictures just discussed make clear the sources from which Giovanni's early style derives. An even better conception of his formative years is afforded by a correspondingly early group of paintings representing Mary and the Child, which reach their perfection in the "Madonna degli Alberetti" of the Venetian Academy. The latter is one of several in which the artist experimented with the grouping of the Mother and Child. It dates in the year 1487. In poetic mood, tenderness, soft modeling and delicate chiaroscuro it stands close to the San Giobbe and Frari altarpieces.

Giovanni undoubtedly owed much to Mantegna. At the same time the indebtedness did not mean a complete submerging of his style in the former's. Even in the figure of Mary the influence of Andrea is rather in suggestion than in bold copying, and in the figure of the Child Bellini frankly passed by the type employed by Mantegna, that is, the child in the first months of its life, to paint an older one whom eventually he develops into an attractive as well as almost impressive representation of the Divine Infancy.

In all of these early madonnas, which represent well the character of Giovanni's art in the fifties and possibly early sixties, Mary is represented as a half-length figure behind a parapet upon which stands, sits, or reclines the Child. No other figures, either of angels or saints, are in attendance. The artist concentrated his mind upon the development of a devotional picture which should glorify the Mother and the Divine Child, and although the sub-

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ject remains the same, he displays considerable ingenuity in the variation of the action of Mary and Christ. This same idea of the simple picture of two figures he carried on into his later art, always striving to humanize the relationship between Mary and Jesus, until eventually the divine character of the theme is almost lost in the



Naples

Brogi

GIOVANNI BELLINI: "TRANSFIGURATION"

tender solicitude of the mother for her baby. Gradually to this type of picture, which seems intended for private devotions, Bellini adds a more complicated one in which, by the means of other figures, more or less involved compositions are produced.

The same steps by which Giovanni freed himself from the influence of Mantegna and the Paduans can be fol-

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lowed in a series of *Pietàs* which date in the years 1460 to 1470.

The "Transfiguration" of the Museum at Naples, dating probably somewhere between 1475 and 1480, also illustrates the advance made by the painter in about a score of years. The earlier knifelike precision of drawing is replaced by an easy style that gives us three impressive, but easily moving, figures enveloped in broadly handled drapery. Not only does the drawing show a marked advance over that of the Correr "Transfiguration," but the types of figures represented are more spiritually contemplative than those of the earlier picture.

In the landscape as in the figures is the same softening and the same intensification of poetic feeling. In the Correr painting the action takes place upon a bleak elevation behind which little is visible except the sky. Here is introduced a poetic note that comes to be almost a constant in Giovanni's later work.

This early period of Giovanni's life, in general terms from 1450 to 1480, was one of continued development and of struggle to be free from any obligation to teachers. Its record is particularly clear in the artist's great altarpieces.

Up to his time, generally speaking, this type of picture had persisted in maintaining a polyptych form with elaborate frame and many isolated panels. All such pictures lack unity. This fault, so far as they were conscious of it at all, the painters undertook to correct, or at least mask, by minute care devoted to the several panels and by the sumptuous effect that could be added by the richly carved, gilded frame. To all intents and purposes such great altarpieces became galleries of pic-

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tures, the extent of which was limited only by the space available.

At an early date Giovanni saw the lack of cohesion in such works. His efforts to obtain physical unity by the use of a simple architectural setting and spiritual unity



Church of the Frari, Venice

Alinari

GIOVANNI BELLINI: "MADONNA AND
CHILD WITH SAINTS"

by the motivation of music can be followed in the series which runs from the "Madonna of SS. Giovanni and Paolo" through Giovanni's perhaps most beautiful large altarpiece for S. Giobbe, to the "Madonna of the Frari."

The underlying motive is music, in the Frari picture afforded by two chubby little angels at the base of Mary's throne who, by the seriousness with which they attempt

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to bring their instruments into harmony, afford a whimsically humorous note in the picture. Except for this delightful touch, the spirit of the scene is most serious. Perhaps this effect in a measure arises from the contrast offered by these amiable little musicians with the absorbed figures who listen to their efforts.

So far we have seen Giovanni Bellini engaged only upon altarpieces. What he may have done in company with his brother in the Ducal Palace, where they worked together upon great pageant pictures, we shall never know. It is therefore interesting to find him as an old man, in the nineties of the fifteenth century, adventuring into more romantic fields. The Venetian mood at this time was ripe for this phase of painting, and it was only natural that Giovanni, who in his later religious work was constantly developing the poetic atmosphere in his pictures, should find himself in sympathy with this tendency.

In this spirit he created his "Christian Allegory" and the five small panels, probably originally to enframe a mirror and now in the Venetian Academy. We do not know the precise meaning of these various pictures; nor does it matter. It is the poetry of the "Christian Allegory" that counts—the softly penetrating light, the beautifully generalized landscape and the introspection of the actors. If you are meticulous you may call the mirror panels *Luxury* and *Industry*, *Inconstant Fortune*, the *Highest Virtue*, *Prudence* and *Calumny*. But what will remain in your mind will be not the classical allusion so much as Bellini's interest in charming landscape, clear atmosphere, far horizon, and ineffable peace.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Bellini ranked as the first of the Venetian painters. Such was he held to

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GIOVANNI BELLINI: MIRROR PANELS

be by Dürer, who wrote home from Venice in 1506 that Bellini was very old but still the best artist at Venice. Even before then Giovanni's excellence was so well recognized that in 1495 he was appointed superintendent of the work in the Hall of the Grand Council in the Doge's Palace. He had become the courted favorite whose praises the poets Ariosto and Bembo were glad to sing. His reputation long ere this had passed beyond the Venetian Lagoon; in 1501 Isabella, the Marchioness of Mantua, desired to have specimens of his work. Mantegna had finished for her his famous allegories, and her already notable collection she wished completed by the distinguished Venetian. But so independent was the old man that only after much negotiation did he consent to do the work. Even then, in spite of the fact that the Marchioness had set her heart upon a classical theme, she was obliged to accept religious subjects. The painter, it would seem, was afraid to compete with Mantegna in a field in which he felt he could not hold his own. So crowded with work was Bellini that it was only after two years had passed that the first picture, a Nativity, was received at Mantua.

In 1505 Bellini finished the great masterpiece of his

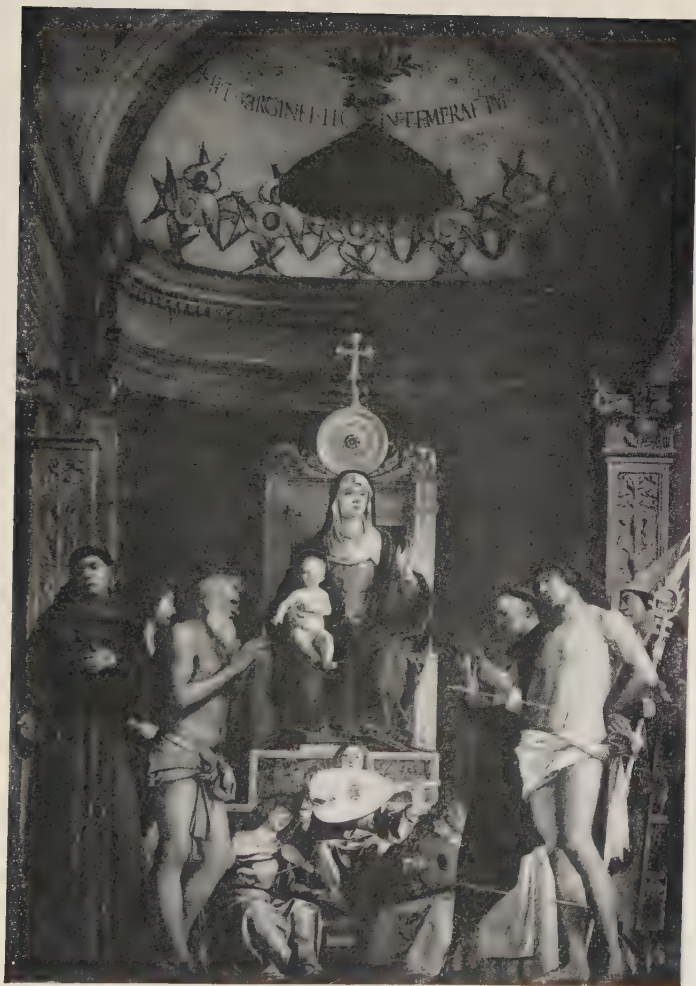
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last years—the San Zaccaria altarpiece. It shows the aged artist weakened little if any in his craftsmanship. Something of the hieratic character of his earlier style may have gone, but in subtlety of lighting and in softness of form the artist still works on a high level. A more romantic spirit marks the picture than the S. Giobbe painting and this undoubtedly was due, whether consciously or not, to the influence of the younger generation of which Giorgione was the leader.

In his capacity as State Painter, Bellini must have developed much power in the art of portraiture. Unfortunately there is only one picture in this field which is indubitably his. That is the splendid bust of Leonardo Loredano, who from 1501 to 1521 was Doge of Venice. The portrait is now in the National Gallery, London. Just when it was painted we do not know. In any case it belongs to the old age of the artist and apparently of the Doge.

As a characterization it is superb, and its execution is above reproach. The strongly cast light is subtly merged into the shadows and the drawing is just precise enough to give definition without hardness. Of remarkable power is the rendering of the eyes. The face lacks the almost yearning expression of Giorgione's heads; on the other hand, it has none of the knifelike hardness of line seen in Gentile's "Giustiniani."

The career of Giovanni Bellini presents an interesting study of continuous progress from his early days, when as a young man he felt the impulse of the naturalistic movement, to his old age when his balmy, poetic, devotional manner was completely developed. He sums up in himself all the advance made in Venetian art to his day.



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GIOVANNI BELLINI: "MADONNA DI S. GIOBBE"

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He became a sure draughtsman, a master of modeling with subtly fused light and shade, and a wonderful colorist whose tones mellowed the peculiarly religious intent of



S. Zaccaria, Venice

Alinari

GIOVANNI BELLINI: "MADONNA AND
CHILD WITH SAINTS"

his work into a kindly beneficence. Not as paganly romantic as his younger contemporary and pupil, Giorgione, he loved nature enough to bring into the painting of it a poetic mood of great delicacy. His influence upon

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the men of his time is incalculable, and the list of those, whether pupil or mature artist, who came to paint in his studio is legion—so much so that in the closing years of the fifteenth century and the first years of the sixteenth there appears a group of pictures which, because of resemblances more or less close to his style, are confused with his own productions. To name the men who at this time might be classed as his pupils or influenced by him would be practically to catalogue the painters of the contemporary Venetian school.

CHAPTER XXVII

Vittore Carpaccio

PAGEANT painting in its more formal aspect we have seen illustrated in the art of Gentile Bellini. In its less serious mood, narrative, historical, or pageant painting, whichever you choose to call it, found expression in a younger contemporary of the Bellini, Vittore Carpaccio.

The date of his birth is not recorded. All that can be said is that his first dated work comes in 1490, his last, in the year 1520. We know that he was dead by June, 1526.

Carpaccio's first teacher is as unknown as the date of his birth. Some critics see in his work proof of his having studied with Lazzaro Bastiani, a painter of no tremendous achievements; others believe that Gentile Bellini had much to do with the formation of his style. The latter seems likely, for both are deeply interested in the pageant picture. That they differ in their treatment is due to differences of temperament. At a later date Carpaccio was affected by Giovanni Bellini's art as well as that of Cima and Giorgione.

Carpaccio's first important undertaking is the series of nine pictures depicting the story of St. Ursula, which he painted for the Scuola di S. Orsola. The work was be-

VITTORE CARPACCIO

gun in 1490 and as the artist passed from one to another of the different paintings, he gradually got rid of Bastiani's slim forms and developed his own more normal types. His narrative grows more pleasantly chatty and his space painting and perspective, skillful. His



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VITTORE CARPACCIO: "THE DREAM OF ST. URSULA"

knowledge of chiaroscuro is far from mean. Frequently, as in the "Vision of St. Ursula," he particularizes with the microscopic accuracy of a Northern "Little Master." Before he had finished the series he had become, as it were, the pictorial historian of the life of his time. Under the thin veil of legend he represented the state functions and manners and customs of his day. But, above all, he

insisted that his tale be piquant, and to that end gathered material wherever he could. Thus in several of the pictures there are costumes and architectural bits of an oriental character which reveal that somehow Carpaccio had obtained possession of a book entitled *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, illustrated by Reuvich and published at Mayence in 1486. The exotic material found in it proved a treasure-trove for Carpaccio whenever he wished to give his pictures an alien appearance.

The attention which his work in the Scuola di Sant' Orsola attracted was responsible for his engagement to paint in the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista. We have no data giving positive information as to when Carpaccio received this commission.

The Bellinis seem to have had a grip upon the work in the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, so that Carpaccio's association with it was of short duration. His next great work, therefore, after that in the Scuola di Sant' Orsola, was done for the Scuola degli Schiavoni. For this brotherhood he painted themes from the lives of its patron saints, Jerome, George, and Tryphonius, and from the life of Christ. The work was begun in 1502 and finished in 1508. It presents little that is new in the way of the painter's style. He continues his garrulous manner—at times, when he tries to represent action, naïvely clumsy, at times amiably intimate, as in the "Jerome in his Study."

While still engaged upon the pictures for the Scuola degli Schiavoni, Carpaccio undertook, probably in 1504, a series of pictures dealing with the life of the Virgin. These are now dispersed in various museums. The subjects included the birth of the Virgin, the Annunciation,

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the Visitation, and the death of the Virgin. Upon this work the painter was engaged up to perhaps 1510.

In the majority of these pictures Carpaccio continues to work along the lines already laid down in the series of the other two schools, reveling in anecdote and at all times maintaining an intimate feeling. Particularly happy has he been in the "Nativity of the Virgin" of the Lochis Gallery, Bergamo, in which he has with de-



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VITTORE CARPACCIO: "DEPARTURE OF ST. URSULA"

lightful homeliness re-created the appearance of a Venetian interior of his day. There is a feeling of repose, to no slight degree contributed to by the beautifully modulated light, which makes this one of Carpaccio's most dignified works. Especially fine is the woman in the lower right corner who, by her full, soft figure, suggests that Carpaccio perhaps was learning something from Cima da Conegliano. Certainly the distinct reserve noticeable in the picture seems to indicate that Carpaccio was awake to the beauty of Cima's work.

After the completion of the pictures in the Scuola degli

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Albanesi, Carpaccio began. in 1511, a series of works in the Scuola di S. Stefano which occupied him until 1520. They are now scattered throughout the museums of Europe. The subjects deal with the life of Stephen and represent the ordination of the deacons, Stephen preaching, Stephen disputing with the doctors, and the martyrdom of the Saint.

It was only natural that Bellini should affect Carpaccio. He was influencing almost every one else. His style, as a fact, appears most markedly in Carpaccio's "Presentation in the Temple." The picture was painted in 1510 and was inspired by Giovanni's S. Giobbe altarpiece. From it is taken the apsidal setting and the musical angels. Even the rendering of the drapery, especially that of the central figure, is decidedly Bellinesque. There is at the same time something of Cima in the two male heads at the right of the priest. By now Carpaccio recognized the impressiveness of Giovanni's fuller figures and he here essays to produce the same effect. On the whole he is successful, although the figures are somewhat short. The lighting is handled in a way that would do credit to Giovanni himself. The work is one of Carpaccio's greatest paintings—certainly his greatest altarpiece.

Carpaccio in his most characteristic mood represents that phase of decorative painting which began with the Bellinis and ran parallel with the devotional, or distinctly religious, style. But whereas Gentile Bellini maintains a certain reserve and formality, Carpaccio revels in the homely and commonplace. He is a historian of contemporary life; and this he records in an amiable, intimate, and pleasantly chatty manner. His work is interesting

VITTORE CARPACCIO

to the curious-minded who like a picture to be a repository of unusual incident. But beyond this his paintings are always colorful, the effects are warm, and over all falls a mellow, golden light. He is distinctly a decorator.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Cima da Conegliano

WE have seen how Giovanni Bellini developed a tender religious type, a suave color, and a gentle religious emotionalism in his art which set the style for Venetian painting. That his influence upon the men of his time, especially upon the younger artists, was potent is easily understood. How irresistible was Giovanni Bellini's influence upon the men of his day is clearly indicated in the work of Giovanni Battista Cima, better known from his home town as Cima da Conegliano. The name Cima is a clipped form of *cimatore* or cloth-dresser, a business in which some ancestor of the artist had been engaged.

When Cima was born we do not know, but since he is mentioned in the tax-lists of Conegliano in 1473-1474, and to be so mentioned he would, according to Venetian law, have to be at least fourteen years old, the date of his birth has been tentatively placed in the year 1459-1460. Apparently he continued to live in his native town until 1489. In that year he seems to have been in Vicenza. In 1492 he appears for the first time in Venice, where he made his home practically for the rest of his life. In 1516 he returned to Conegliano and died there probably in 1516-1517.

Up to 1489, when he painted his first dated picture,

CIMA DA CONEGLIANO

his life is a blank. We have nothing, therefore, to help us in the identification of his teachers until he has reached probably the age of thirty.

In the "Mary and Child," painted in 1489 for the Church of S. Bartolommeo in Vicenza, are unmistakable traces of two other artists' styles. One of these painters is Alvise Vivarini, from whom Cima took the scheme of the picture with its arched background and to whom he owed the attenuated proportions of his figures and the oval form of the faces—particularly as it appears in Mary's. Even the pronounced contrast of light and shade, and the manner of folding the mantle on Mary's head are characteristics found in Alvise's work. The other artist is Bartolommeo Montagna, who gave Cima his clear coloring and grandiose feeling. Cima's connection with Montagna must have been of long duration in order to leave so marked an impression on him.

Immediately upon his arrival in Venice Cima began to assimilate the sweeter style of Giovanni Bellini and to free himself from the influences of Montagna and Vivarini. Possibly the ease with which Giovanni and Alvise might be compared in their native city made clear to the newcomer the superiority of Bellini's manner. This severance of allegiance to his old teachers, however, did not take place at once, nor did Cima liberate himself immediately from his precise, Vivarinesque style. His progress, nevertheless, was consistent and by the time he painted, about 1500, his great altarpiece in the Venetian Academy he had become an ardent Bellinesque.

The arrangement of the figures is one already developed by Giovanni Bellini, and taken over from him by Alvise, while the landscape is saturated with the poetic quality

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which Giovanni gives to his. The mood of the figures which group themselves in the foreground is the same contemplative spirit found elsewhere in Bellini's work. Alvise's influence, to be sure, seems to linger on in the two bearded saints on either side of Mary, for both are to be found in Vivarini's great altarpiece of the Frari, and the idea of balancing the mailed figure of Liberalis against the nude Sebastian is found in Alvise's altarpiece in Berlin. But, in contrast with Vivarini, Cima paints the flesh more softly and gives a dignity to Liberalis which might be expected of Giovanni or his great pupil, Giorgione.

At this time it will be remembered Carpaccio was in the height of his power. On one or two occasions he left his imprint upon Cima. This, however, is but a passing fancy. Cima's temperament is much closer to that of the Bellinesques and it is along the lines laid down by Bellini that Cima's art continues to develop.

As one comes toward the end of Cima's life an almost complete surrender to Bellini is apparent. The altarpiece of Berlin, done in 1511, in which is depicted the Enthroned Madonna and Child attended by Sts. Peter, Romualdus, Bruno, and Paul, frankly adopts the Bellinesque arrangement and setting. The figures are lost in a true Bellinesque, introspective contemplation. This same domination of the art of Giovanni Bellini appears in a series of allegories which Cima painted about this same time and in the small devotional pictures showing Mary and the Child, which, taken from Bellini, Cima treats with almost the same infinite variety as his master.

Cima's whole artistic life, at least after his arrival in Venice, seems to have been an attempt to get away from

CIMA DA CONEGLIANO

the tighter drawing and less attractive forms which Alvise employed and even tried to cast aside in his adoption of



Academy, Venice

Alinari

CIMA DA CONEGLIANO: "MADONNA AND
CHILD WITH SAINTS"

Giovanni's style. In place of these Cima sought to use the fuller, more genial types of Bellini. His own love of out-of-doors made him find Giovanni a companionable

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teacher; and in the latter's diffused lights he discovered an agreeable manner of working. He lays more emphasis upon this feature even than Bellini and gives his works a luminosity which at times surpasses that of his teacher.

In his facial types he never completely absorbs Giovanni's style. Rather he maintains the harder forms of Alvise which he makes even less attractive by emphasizing weight and bony structure in the lower portion of the face. The mouths of his madonnas, too, are more severely delineated, and as a result he never obtains the melting gentleness of Bellini's later types. In the drawing of the hands he avoids the rather coarse plumpness which Giovanni gave these members, and draws them with somewhat hard and awkwardly moving fingers. In his earlier works, under the influence of Alvise, his forms are tall; later, after contact with Bellini, his proportions become fuller and more just.

Cima, while not to be reckoned in the same class with Bellini, is among the best of his followers. He ranks decidedly above Carpaccio in breadth of vision and idealism. He is, on the whole, a most attractive painter, and his influence was felt among the painters of his time. Even the venerable Giovanni Bellini thought enough of Cima's "Baptism of Christ" to repeat it almost identically some years later.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Lesser Bellinesques

IT is difficult to determine which of the minor artists shall be admitted into a study which is not a *catalogue raisonné*. At the same time it is safe to say that among the lesser painters who fell under the spell of Giovanni Bellini, the most important are Marco Basaiti, Vincenzo Catena, Andrea Previtali, and Francesco Bissolo.

Basaiti

The first of these, Marco Basaiti, we encountered in connection with Alvise Vivarini. He was born in 1470 and lived until about 1530; he was, as we know, at first a pupil of Vivarini and the one selected to complete the great altarpiece representing St. Ambrose in Glory, left unfinished at the death of Alvise. Although apparently of Greek stock, Basaiti was born in Venice. His earliest work is his contribution to the just-mentioned altarpiece, in which he painted Jerome and Augustine (?), the four saints at the left, and the two angels playing upon musical instruments. Judged by these works, Basaiti is decidedly inferior to his teacher, for the figures are ill proportioned and awkward, showing no consciousness of Bellini's teaching. Other early works by Basaiti display the same hardness. Little is there to indicate the coming influence of

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Bellini. All is still Vivarinesque so far as Basaiti could approach his master.



Academy, Venice

Alinari

MARCO BASAITI: "CHRIST ON THE MOUNT
OF OLIVES"

Gradually, however, Basaiti followed the crowd and began to study the methods of Giovanni Bellini. Certainly when he painted the "Christ on the Mount of

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Olives" he had in mind Bellini's earlier handling of the same subject. At the same time allegiance to Alvise is apparent in the slender saints standing in the foreground —Francis being close in type to the same figure in Vivarini's "Madonna and Child with Six Saints" in the Academy in Venice. Never at any time a great painter, he never succeeds in giving his pictures the suavity of Bellini. As a colorist, however, he has much charm.



Berlin

Hanfstaengl

VINCENZO CATENA: "MADONNA AND CHILD
WITH FOUR SAINTS"

Catena

In Vincenzo Catena, who was born probably about 1480 and was active as an artist from about 1500 until his death in 1531, we have another of those painters who, like Basaiti, changed according to popular taste. His early work, like that of Basaiti, displays a familiarity with Vivarini, but at the same time his drapery is hard and badly handled.

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Soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century he painted Mary and the Child with four saints and the donor, now in Berlin, in which along with the mannerisms of Giovanni Bellini appear others which indicate a contact with Palma Vecchio or Sebastian. This comes out in the figure of Catherine and more clearly still in the "Giving the Keys to Peter," in the Prado. Now Catena gives his figures that dreamy languor which was popular with those artists who followed in the lead of Bellini.

On the whole, however, he remains a second-rate artist, changing from time to time as new, popular painters arise and lacking the consecutiveness which would have carried him forward into the evolution of a truly personal style.

Previtali

On about the same level with Catena and Basaiti is Andrea Cordegliaghi, commonly known as Andrea Previtali. Born at Bergamo probably about 1480, this artist came to Venice toward the close of the century and immediately affiliated himself with Giovanni Bellini and his followers. Upon his arrival he seems to have taken himself to Catena from whom he borrowed something of his types and arrangements. From the latter he passed almost directly to Giovanni Bellini, on occasions even signing his work as a pupil of that painter.

Previtali's devotion to his master's style was so thorough that by 1504, when he painted the "Marriage of St. Catherine" in the Church of S. Giobbe, Venice, he had fairly well conquered the manner of Giovanni so far as a minor artist could. The faces are perhaps too round, but they have the quality of softness which comes from

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contact with Giovanni. The mouths are more pursed and the gentle pensiveness seen in Bellini's figures is not quite acquired.

When at his best Previtali presents some of the refinements of Bellini, but he has a tendency to render the



S. Giobbe, Venice

Alinari

ANDREA PREVITALI: "MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE"

faces of his feminine types with full, round shapes and small, full lips. His madonnas are apt to be of great height and in the drawing of the hands he is fond of representing the thumb as decidedly splayed.

Bissolo

In Francesco Bissolo—c. 1470-1554—we have perhaps the most faithful devotee of Giovanni. While there are

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no works from his hand antedating the year 1500, we know that as early as 1492 he was assisting Giovanni Bellini in his work in the Ducal Palace.



Academy, Venice

Alinari

FRANCESCO BISSOLO: "CORONATION OF ST.
CATHERINE OF SIENA"

Bissolo profited by his study of Bellini so that in the "Coronation of St. Catherine of Siena," painted in 1514-1515 and now in the Academy at Venice, he produced a

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work which is not only his masterpiece, but also one which most satisfactorily reflects Giovanni's mood. The landscape has the spaciousness of Bellini's and, like that of the latter's better works, is free from the trivial particularization which mars many landscapes of the Bellinesques. Among the figures, too, although they may be too formal in arrangement, are types taken from Bellini. This statement applies particularly to the "Presentation in the Temple," now in the Academy in Venice, in which Bissolo borrows literally the group of Mary, the Child, and the two bearded figures from Giovanni.



Dresden

GIORGIONE: "VENUS"

Alinari

CHAPTER XXX

Giorgione

VENICE by the sheer force of its environment was bound to develop a love for the sensuous aspect of things rather than for any philosophic abstraction. The opalescent hues of the ever-changing water, the glow of reflected color, the mysterious haze emanating from the warm sea, the limpid blue of the sky and the spacious distances which might end in glimpses of heavenward piled mountains—all these factors contributed to render the Venetian artist a sensualist in the best meaning of the word.

This state of mind was fostered by the relations which existed between Venice and the Levant. Bound commercially more with the Orient than with the adjacent peninsula of Italy, it was only natural that from the East should stream in all those forces which would tend only to confirm Venice in her love of color. So, almost from time immemorial, we find the splendid art of Byzantium supplying the models for the teaching of Venetian painters, and continuing to instruct and influence them long after Byzantine canons had gone by the board elsewhere in Italy. So potent was this domination of Byzantine art that even when Giotto had shown the Italians the need of naturalism the Venetians still found little interest in the intellectual aspect of Florentine art.

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Not until the beginning of the fifteenth century did they begin to be conscious of the superiority of the more naturalistic art that was being produced on the mainland. Then forthwith they invited Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello to undertake their more important commissions. With their eyes once opened to the potentials in this more



Giovanelli Collection, Venice

Alinari

GIORGIONE: "THE GYPSY FAMILY"

academic art of the peninsula it was only natural that the classic tradition of Padua should come in to teach the Venetians accuracy of form and a feeling for the plastic.

For a while this was so popular that one might have expected to find the native love of color and the pleasure of sensuous living overwhelmed by a cold classicism. But such was not the case. Underneath this superposed man-

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ner the Venetian painter still maintained his love for those things which could be enjoyed through the agencies of the senses rather than of the mind. This characteristic, observable in the emphasis laid upon color in the Byzantine period, and more or less suppressed by the superinduced styles brought in from the mainland, reasserts itself in the art of Giovanni Bellini. In him the mere physical pleasure stimulated by feeling for color is elevated by the addition of a pensive, poetic mood into as nearly an intellectual pleasure as Venetian art had yet created. Bellini, however, did little more than point the way.

It remained for his great pupil, Giorgione, to launch Venetian painting upon that course to which it consistently adhered henceforth and in which it was to render to painting as great a contribution in the field of color as Florence had in drawing.

It is deplorable that we know so little of Giorgione's life, for not only would such a knowledge contribute immeasurably to the pleasure of comprehending the personality of the man, but it would explain much that is now obscure in his work. Even the date of his birth is uncertain. Vasari tells us that he was thirty-four years old when he died; and since we know that he perished of the plague in October, 1510, it may be assumed that he was born in the year 1476. The place of his birth is Castelfranco, a town on the mainland, situated about twenty-five miles northwest of Venice.

Giorgio Barbarelli, or Giorgione, as, says Vasari, he was called because of his size, good looks, and amiability, was known to his contemporaries by the Venetian spelling of his name as Zorzo, Zorzi, or Zorzon. In his signa-

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ture he sometimes added the name of the town Castelfranco. The fact that he employed the Venetian *Z* for the soft *G* is important because this *Z* is sometimes written to look like a *V* and upon certain paintings in his style appear two such *V*'s side by side—seemingly written as an abbreviation of the name Giorgione or Zorzo.



Uffizi, Florence

Anderson

GIORGIONE: "THE KNIGHT OF MALTA"

According to Ridolfi, who in 1648 published his *Meraviglie dell' arte*, Giorgione was a pupil of Giovanni Bellini, and, from many resemblances observable in the works of the two men, this statement appears to be correct. To Giovanni Giorgione seems to have gone at an early age. That, as Vasari says, he felt the influence of Leonardo,

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who was in Venice in 1500, is much to be doubted, for, while both Giorgione and Leonardo are interested in the problem of light and shade, the Venetian painter remained first and last interested in the color aspect of his work, while this may not be said of Leonardo, who, in spite of



Uffizi, Florence

Anderson

GIORGIONE: "THE TRIAL OF MOSES"

his remarkable knowledge of chiaroscuro, never forgot the Florentine tradition of the importance of delineated form.

Unfortunately the basis upon which we must build our estimation of Giorgione is a limited one. Although old writers refer to nearly seventy of his works, and perhaps

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forty-six are now assigned to him by this or that critic, yet there are only about sixteen pictures which critics generally agree to accept as his. Even some in this much reduced list are questioned.

For the sake of record we may name the works to be included. They are: the "Trial of Moses," the "Judgment of Solomon," the "Adoration of the Magi," the "Gypsy Family," "A Young Man's Portrait," in Berlin; the "Chaldean Sages," "Christ Carrying the Cross," "Judith," the Castelfranco "Madonna," the "Knight of Malta," the Dresden "Venus," the "Pastoral Symphony," and the Kingston Lacy "Judgment of Solomon."

Other pictures which so closely approach the foregoing that it is extremely difficult to pass them by without notice are the Cobham Hall "Ariosto," the portrait of a man at Temple Newsam, the "Shepherd" at Hampton Court, the "Venus and Adonis," the "Daphne and Apollo," and the "Orpheus and Eurydice."

The difficulty connected with the identification of Giorgione's pictures is complicated by the fact that he so dominated Venetian art during his life, and for a long time after, that many men worked as nearly in his style as they could. His influence upon the younger generation was even more potent than Giovanni Bellini's had been in his time. So alluring was the new style of this young artist that even the aged Giovanni himself, as well as the youthful Titian, who was about Giorgione's own age, found themselves following his lead.

To the men of his own time he opened a new vista. Contemporary painters for the most part had been content to record facts. Certain ones, under the inspiration of Giovanni Bellini, had softened these facts by a handling

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which was more or less poetic according to the endowment of the artist. Giorgione, on the other hand, was interested not so much in facts as in the recording of moods. To put it another way, Giorgio Barbarelli is a poet-painter



Castelfranco

Anderson

GIORGIONE: "MADONNA"

whose pictures are improvisations; and these improvisations are lyrical. Possessed of exquisite feeling, he displays life and nature in a contemplative mood. From Bellini he differs in so far as Giovanni's moods are pensively serious, almost tinged with sadness, while his are lighter and happier—like the fluting of pipes in spring.

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To him the dramatic power which later Titian developed, or Tintoretto better illustrates, would have been incomprehensible, nor could he have risen to the ecstatic state of Correggio. On the contrary, he is a gentle poet singing happily but with mellow notes. The clear, pure color of Bellini in his works becomes richly sensuous, and with this and the quality of swelling line he leads us into a world wherein harmony reigns supreme and there is everlasting peace.

So imbued was he with the quiescent happiness of nature that often he appears to have had no definite story to tell. Like a musician who, dreaming, gives expression to his reveries through his playing, Giorgione on many a canvas painted not a particular subject but a mood. So natural, however, are his figures and so intimately connected with the landscape in the midst of which they appear that critics have been prone to seek a meaning where none existed and to explain the scenes by referring them to specific events. In such a mood were created the "Gypsy Family," the "Pastoral Symphony," and the "Chaldean Sages." In all three instances the names are of secondary importance.

As a painter of landscapes Giorgione is a master. The charm of his peaceful views lies in his ability to apprehend nature as a whole and to avoid such particularization as one finds, for example, in Carpaccio. The quietude of rolling plain and the damp silence of dense, green thicket are his, and when figures are added, they are the native residents of the scene—naturally merged into their setting.

To his persons, whether they appear in what might be called figure-pieces, or in those wherein they seem in-

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Louvre, Paris

Alinari

GIORGIONE: "PASTORAL SYMPHONY"

cidental to the setting, Giorgione gives a feeling of introspective isolation. This is a quality which he may have acquired from Bellini; but there is every reason to suppose that it was present, latent perhaps, in his own character. However that may be, his figures, when contrasted with those of Bellini, show a tender wistfulness halfway between the serious thoughtfulness of Bellini and the yearning ecstasy of Perugino.

In the use of color as a medium of expression no Venetian was more skillful than Giorgione, yet he never manipulated it to produce startling results and never employed it with the thunderous effects of Tintoretto. In his colors, as in his ideas, he was a lyricist, keeping his tones keyed to a rich but quietly subdued harmony. Then

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over all, as if to soothe the whole into a lovely unity, he shed a golden glow of such quality that some one has well said that the chief color on his palette was sunlight.

Together with all these qualities Giorgione combined that of a fine reserve. It is the same quality which gave to fifth century Greek art its nobility. By virtue of it he could paint the lovely nude form of the Dresden "Venus" and yet avoid the self-consciousness of Titian. It enabled him to combine nude and draped figures without any suggestion of incongruity. It enabled his portraiture as exemplified in the "Knight of Malta" to possess dignity. It allowed his Castelfranco "Madonna" to be tender without being saccharine.

CHAPTER XXXI

Titian

GIORGIONE'S name is inextricably linked with that of Titian, for out of his art developed the latter's.

Titian, or Tiziano Vecellio, was born at Pieve in the mountains of Cadore probably in 1477. His family had been an important one in his native city. At the age of ten he was sent to Venice and placed with a mosaist Zuccato to learn his trade. From him he apparently soon passed to the school of the Bellini, working first perhaps with Gentile. There is, however, no evidence of the style of this artist in Titian's earliest work, so that if he was at all associated with the elder Bellini, it must have been only a short time before he entered the studio of the more progressive and popular Giovanni. Here he came in



Borghese Gallery, Rome

Brogi

TITIAN: "SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE"

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contact eventually with Giorgione, who at once seems to have had an effect upon him.

The two painters were of about the same age—Titian being possibly a year older—so that one may hardly imagine Titian occupying what would commonly be designated as the position of a pupil. The two young painters were undoubtedly companions, one of whom, more precocious and single-visioned, fixed his style upon the other. Their association in the first decade of the sixteenth century, as for example in the work upon the Fondaco dei Tedeschi from 1505 to 1508, would rather point to a kind of loosely arranged partnership.

Yet in spite of the similarity in ages there can be no question that so powerful was Giorgione's influence upon Titian that for about a generation subsequent to the former's death Titian still showed from time to time traces of his manner. For most men this would imply that the influence lasted throughout their lives, but with Titian the maturing of his powers was slow, slow as his method of executing a picture, and his whole life as a painter was a continuous crescendo from the start to the end, when he died practically brush in hand, stricken by the plague, one year short of a hundred.

This great painter, the greatest of the sixteenth century in Italy, beyond the shadow of doubt owed his initial impulse toward greatness to Giorgione. By nature he is sturdier, less lyrical than his friend; but the outlook of the two men on life, at least at the time Titian was acquiring Giorgione's style, corresponded enough to render it natural that they should work together in harmony. But where Giorgione was a dreamer Titian was not. Throughout his career, and particularly after he had out-

grown the lyric quality of Giorgione's style, his paintings are decidedly healthy. He inhales life in deep breaths and lives through his senses. This does not imply that he was not intellectually alert. On the contrary, he applies a tremendous amount of thought to his art, but his reactions are those of one whose senses are peculiarly attuned to the physically pleasurable.

While this sensuous quality pervades the work of the two artists, it expresses itself differently in the two instances—in Giorgione's pictures in an idyllic quietness, in Titian's, in a serene grandeur. Loving music, moving in the midst of elegant luxury, in a word, sensuous in his living, it is but natural that in his works should appear a languorous repose suggesting the voluptuary. Titian is the antithesis of Correggio, the painter of palpitating, breathless beauty. For the most part his figures suggest indolent movement, and the slow, luxurious satiation of senses which never know the meaning of haste, never realize the existence of suffering. This, however, is not the whole story of Titian's character. On the contrary, there entered into his make-up a dramatic power of great depth, which enabled him to portray the violent action of murder or the heroic, upward sweep of a heavenward ascending madonna.

As a colorist Titian stands easily at the head of the Italian school, and one might venture to say as the greatest colorist in the whole field of art. At the start his colors are brighter, then gradually they grow deeper in tonality, becoming more resonantly rich, until in his old age color seems to occupy in his mind a position subordinate to lighting. This color is still fine, but one feels in this, his later, work that it owes its fullness to a luminosity

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emanating from within the picture. As this subordination of color takes place it is accompanied by what one might call disregard of precision in drawing. Whereas in his earlier works the artist maintained a clear definition of form by line, in his old age form is not due so much to drawing as to a modeling obtained by loosely applied brush strokes which produce confusion when viewed near at hand and pull together into the desired form when observed from the proper distance.

Any sequential consideration of Titian's works is more or less complicated by the fact that the artist seldom dated his pictures. Later in his life, when he became the courted of princes, a fairly close dating can be obtained by documentary evidence in the form of correspondence. But even in his early period, while there will probably always be more or less discussion as to whether this or that painting is the earlier, it is fairly possible to group together a series of pictures which bear indisputable testimony as to the source from which he derived most of his inspiration.

Up to the time of painting his "Sacred and Profane Love"—done possibly as late as 1512 to 1515—Titian vacillated between allegiance to Giovanni Bellini and Giorgione, with a stronger liking for the latter. In the picture just mentioned the splendid nude is inspired by the figure at the fountain in Giorgione's "Fête Champêtre." Even the sumptuous forms of Palma Vecchio may have had something to do with affecting Titian's types.

Titian outgrew Giorgione slowly. In the famous "Concert" in the Pitti, executed about the middle of the second decade of the sixteenth century, the artist painted

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his heads with that fine expressiveness which distinguishes Giorgione. The spiritual exaltation, amounting almost to ecstasy, is so marked in the noble head which forms the center that many critics refuse to admit this picture as any one's but Giorgione's. Technically there are indications which seem to point rather in the direction of Titian, and the resemblance which the center head bears in its power of expression to the "Man with the Glove" lends plausibility to the assignment of the work to Titian. To all intents and purposes the picture is a group of portraits.

This is an assertion of Titian's title as a painter of likenesses. In this province he was shortly to be a preëminent master. In his early work his purpose seems to have been to give his heads that quality of pensive introspection which he found in Giorgione's work.

In 1516 Titian succeeded to the pension attached to the Senseria, or broker's commission, in the *Fondaco de' Tedeschi*. This Giovanni had held until his death and for it, with questionable taste, Titian had made application before the passing away of the aged painter. The office carried with it the obligation to paint the Doges' portraits at a nominal sum. In the same year Titian received a commission for the "Assumption of the Virgin" for the Church of the Frari—which he completed two years later.

This work marks the termination of his apprenticeship. Rather it marks the inauguration of his own more majestic style. All the sweet pensiveness of his early works has gone and in its place appears a spiritual exaltation expressed with impressively dramatic force. The picture shows the Virgin, no longer a girlish, or even tenderly

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maternal, figure, but a grandiose form, sweeping upward surrounded by a cloud of cherubs, while below the amazed apostles gesticulate excitedly as she soars upward to heaven.

With this great picture the old order passed. Instead of the placid representation of the theme traditional in Italy up to now, a treatment in which Mary is a gentle, almost timid figure looking quietly down at a group of mystically reverent apostles, Titian painted an heroic apotheosis. Mary, in the proportions of a grand prophetess of the Old Testament, moves majestically upward with outstretched arms and enraptured gaze. It would indeed be difficult to think of a treatment more at variance with the established convention. The quiet, serious little angels of Bellini and his more faithful followers have given place to a throng of rioting, happy, singing, angelic boys who glorify the Mother of God. Below on earth the apostles are no longer gently meditative but grandiose.

The same year in which Titian received the commission for the "Assumption" he came in contact with his first princely patron, for in 1516 we find him at Ferrara completing the "Bacchanal" left unfinished by Giovanni Bellini. For Alfonso d'Este, between 1518 and 1523, he also finished among other works the "Bacchanal" and the "Worship of Venus," both in Madrid, and the "Bacchus and Ariadne" of the National Gallery, London. During these years comes a series of idealized portraits, some of which may have been painted for Alfonso. Probably the "Venus of the Shell" was done for this same prince who also suggested to Titian the other three classical themes.

In the "Bacchus and Ariadne" of the National Gallery, brought to Ferrara in 1523, Titian rises to the height of



Church of the Frari, Venice

Alinari

TITIAN: "THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN"

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his power in this type of subject. The bacchanalian mood, represented in a less boisterous fashion in the Madrid "Bacchanal," gives way now to unrestrained Dionysiac ecstasy. Particularly fine is the impetuosity with which the god leaps from his chariot toward the fleeing Ariadne.



National Gallery, London

Anderson

TITIAN: "BACCHUS AND ARIADNE"

The rush and abandon of his followers is thoroughly Greek in spirit. The coloring and the painting of the forms have all the marks of craftsmanship seen in the last two pictures. While Bacchus by his lofty position stands forth distinctly from the rest, his position is not such as to destroy the outline of the solid mass made up

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of figures and trees at the right, which more or less preserves the shape of a triangle. The figure with the cymbals near the god is a close adaptation from the dancing bacchante in the Madrid picture.

The character of his ideal portraits of this period will be appreciated by considering the "Flora" of the Uffizi



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

TITIAN: "THE VENUS OF URBINO"

Gallery. In this picture the artist surrendered himself to the physical charm of a wondrously beautiful woman. It might be taken to be the ideal type of womanly beauty conceived by Titian under the inspiration of Palma. Each detail is perfect—the regular mouth, the finely chiseled nose, the level, delicate brows, the dark liquid eyes, and silken hair neatly brushed as Palma and Titian loved to show it. So perfect are the isolated details that the beauty becomes impersonal. Sheer perfection almost robs the

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features of individuality. This loss of personality is perhaps due to the painter's complete absorption in the problem of recording his reaction to sensuous beauty. His purpose is to produce a thing perfect in its power to satisfy the feeling for physical charm. To that end, with a master's art he lavished his genius in contrasting a soft, velvet skin with the almost equally soft but much folded white chemise. The light as it falls over the round neck and gently swelling breast caresses them into exquisitely tender form.

By now Titian has definitely assumed his own manner, whether it be in religious theme, classical subject, or in portraiture. He has decided upon the types he prefers, developed his color to an imposing resonance, and become assured of his ability to model his forms plastically. From this point on, therefore, it may be more profitable to follow his progress in his various fields of adventure than to try to discuss from year to year the works he produced. To do the latter would demand a book for Titian alone. We can, however, stop from time to time to note important milestones in this period of his perfected art.

It will be remembered that in his grandiose "Assumption" he evolved a new type of altarpiece. Some ten years later, in 1526, he finished his glorious "Madonna of the Pesaro Family." This fine picture is among Titian's most successful adventures in color. As a setting for the scene he painted a quiet blue sky across which lazily move soft, white clouds. Before this calm background rise the towering gray shafts as a foil for the group in the foreground, and in this particularly the painter shows his craft. The important part of the picture, Mary and

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the Child, he emphasizes by placing behind the heads a white mantle which, together with the light color of the flesh of Mary's face and the Child's body, makes the focal point of the composition.

As yet we have seen among Titian's religious pictures none which could be called frankly decorative. The opportunity to do work of such character came to the artist when between 1534 and 1538 he painted his vast "Presen-



Academy, Venice

Alinari

TITIAN: "PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN"

tation" for the Scuola della Carità. This building is now used by the Venetian Academy, so that the picture enjoys the good fortune of being in the original place for which it was intended. The spectator may see it practically as Titian intended it to be viewed.

In painting this great canvas, which measures about eleven and one-half feet by twenty-six, the artist adopted the traditional arrangement which had been given to Venetian art by Jacopo Bellini and had been followed by both Cima and Carpaccio. Even in representing the approach to the temple with thirteen steps Titian followed

literally the traditional account. Of itself the theme presented no unusual interest, and this had to be made up for by the splendor of the setting. Therefore the incident is shown as taking place before a temple the magnificence of which is suggested by the imposing approach and the massive architectural members hinted at behind the chief priest at the top of the steps. Further splendor is given by the great palaces seen in the background and the lofty loggia at the left.

The "Holy Trinity" which Titian finished for the Emperor Charles V in 1554 shows how Titian, already an old man, felt the influence of Raphael and Michelangelo, whose Roman works he had come to know nine years before on the occasion of his visit to the Holy City. This work was painted to still the spiritual fears of the Emperor, who, with the immediate members of his family, is to be seen halfway up the picture on the right side. Whether or not Titian actually had in mind Michelangelo's "Last Judgment" when he arranged this work we may not say, but undoubtedly in the massive figures of the foreground and in the marked interest there displayed in anatomy and foreshortening both Michelangelo and his great rival Raphael had much to say.

The splendid feminine form, seen from behind and pointing with one hand to the Tablets of the Law upon Moses' knee while with the other she directs the spectator toward Charles, is a frank variant of that type of figure which Raphael used in the "Burning of the Borgo" and particularly in the lower part of the "Transfiguration." Even the emphasis laid upon gesture as a supreme agency in obtaining unity of composition is here employed much in the same fashion as Raphael used it. This may be

TITIAN

seen most clearly in the coördination of the feminine saint, just mentioned, with the family of Charles, and the connection of this group with the figure of Christ, or in the relationship which is established between Mary at the left top of the picture and the vigorous figure at the lower right of the canvas. The aged artist has lost none of



Academy, Venice

Alinari

TITIAN: PIETÀ

his power, and the remarkable skill with which by the manipulation of his light he sends the figures of the Father and of Christ into the background shows the painter still alert to the problems of his craft. By the attendant subtle gradation of his color he has produced the feeling of the infinite space of the heavens.

Titian's last religious work, left incomplete by his death,

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is the *Pietà* which he intended should be hung over his tomb in the Church of the *Frari*. The work is now in the Academy in Venice. In this picture, painted when the venerable artist was nearly one hundred years old, Titian once more lays especial emphasis upon the problem of light and shade. As if impressed with the somberness of the subject and his own soon approaching death, he practically eliminated color from the picture. The work is thoughtfully composed—perhaps too obviously so. One notes how the group assumes clearly the shape of a triangle the apex of which is the head of the statue at the left. Since this would by itself have been extremely unpleasantly geometric the massive niche is placed behind, and the statue at the left is balanced by one on the right. The little angel flying above to support the torch, which gives an artificial lighting, serves somewhat to balance the figure of Christ below.

But more marked than the composition or the lighting is the spiritual elevation of the scene. The old painter, no longer moved by the elation of the great "*Assumption*," is penetrated by a deep feeling of reverent awe for the Master who had given His life that he might be saved. The picture becomes a prayer piously uttered by the aged man that he might share in the redemption exemplified in the great Sacrifice here represented.

A book might be written of Titian as a portrait painter. Possessed always of the power of interpretation, it is interesting to see how he developed from the Giorgionesque simplicity of his youthful effort, the "*Man with the Glove*," to the masterful portraits of Pope Paul or Charles V. It would require too much time to discuss these works individually, but one after another they pass before us—

TITIAN

the calm, poised Duke of Norfolk (?) in the Pitti, vigorous Francesco della Rovere, and La Bella, till we come to the tragic group of Paul III with his nephews and the terrible likenesses of Charles V. It was this same interpretative gift that made possible the winsome portrait of little Roberta Strozzi, and the equally charming one of his own daughter Lavinia dressed as a bride.

Thus we come to the end of our discussion of Titian as a portrait painter. Before leaving this phase of his art it is worth noting a habit of work which throws some light on the artist's conception of what a portrait, at least of a prince, should be. For example, on several occasions, notably in the case of a portrait of Isabella of Spain, Titian painted his picture without seeing his sitter. In this particular instance a likeness of the Queen was made by a local painter and sent to Titian. From it he painted apparently what he conceived should be the portrait. One suspects that in this instance, as in the case of a reproduction of a portrait of Isabella d'Este and of a certain lady in the service of Countess Isabella Pepoli, which was sent to her lover, the secretary of Charles V, the artist was glad to be relieved of the necessity of being faced by the sitter so that he might as a courtier produce a work that would please. Since in all instances the pictures were acceptable, one can easily believe that Titian knew how to endow his princely sitters with loveliness or dignity, as the case might be, that they possibly did not possess, but with which they were willing to be credited.

Possibly in 1538 the artist finished, probably for Guidobaldo of Urbino, the lovely nude now in the Uffizi known as the "Venus of Urbino." In it Titian is clearly indebted to Giorgione's "Venus" for the pose. This he

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has modified by changing the position of the right arm and by having the woman awake.



Church of the Frari, Venice

Alinari

TITIAN: "THE PESARO MADONNA"

The mood of the picture is thereby changed from the higher, impersonal level of Giorgione's work to one more commonplace, in which the appeal is almost entirely

TITIAN

physical. That fact, however, does not rob the picture of its beauty. Indeed the warmer coloring of the nude, the red of the couch, and the green curtain have a sensuous effect which in its way is as compelling as Giorgione's impersonality. The flesh, having the golden quality Titian knew how to give it, is exquisitely painted. Although the subject may be the commonplace one of a woman waiting for her garments, the picture as such is beautiful. The soft light of the room, which is remarkably subtle in its gradation, and the quiet blue of the sky seen through the window add to the pleasantness of the work.

The nude, reclining woman, awake or asleep, Titian painted often, producing many variations of incident. The list includes the "Venus of Urbino," "Venus and the Lute Player," "Jupiter and Antiope," and the beautiful "Danaë" of Naples. The problem of the nude fascinated the aged artist and even at the age of eighty-five he could paint his "Rape of Europa" with a skill that had lost none of its cunning.

CHAPTER XXXII

Palma Vecchio

AFFILIATED with the movement inaugurated by Giovanni Bellini and Giorgione, and in all probability a fellow-pupil in Bellini's studio along with Giorgione and Titian, is Giacomo di Antonio di Negriti, commonly called Palma Vecchio. Very little is known of his personal history. Vasari, however, says that he was forty-eight at the time of his death and this is known to have taken place July 30, 1528, so it is probably true that he was born in the year 1480. The place of his birth was Serino, near Bergamo; yet his artistic associations were not with the schools of the mainland but with that of Venice.

How early he settled in this city we do not know, nor how long he had been there when in 1510 he appeared as a witness to a will. The presumption is that he was a resident for some time before that date and, as already noted, had been intimately familiar with the work of Giorgione and Bellini. Unfortunately for a concise statement of his progress he neither signs nor dates his pictures. In what appears to be his earliest work is the dignified manner of Bellini.

His tendency, however, is toward a more statuesque type than Bellini's. This is developed in the "Madonna with Sts. George and Lucy" in the Church of S. Stefano

PALMA VECCHIO

at Vicenza. There is little more than the general arrangement to remind one of Bellini. Even the musical angel at



Vicenza

Alinari

PALMA VECCHIO: "MADONNA AND CHILD
WITH STS. GEORGE AND LUCY"

the madonna's feet has become a young athlete who plucks sturdily at the strings of his lute.

Bellini from time to time had juxtaposed Mary and the Child with saintly figures in an apparently casual way that has earned for such pictures the title of *Sante Con-*

A HISTORY OF ITALIAN PAINTING

versazioni. This type of picture seems to have appealed strongly to Palma, who develops it to a considerable size. These scenes are usually represented in connection with a pleasant landscape and are practically free from religious suggestion. They portray, as the name implies, a group of people gathered together for a lazy, desultory conversation.

At times Bellini's influence still appears in the landscape. But Palma's somewhat theatrical disposition expresses itself here in the more grandiose action of the madonna. Sometimes there appears a playful note which would never have entered into Giovanni's work, and at all times there is an insistence upon amplitude of form in the feminine figures and a tendency to make the eyes dark and sparkling, which signalize the manner of Palma.

Such pictures as these are of course a natural outgrowth of the kind in which some saint presents the donor of the picture to Mary and the Child. Bellini had painted such a picture, elaborately staged, in the Barbarigo altarpiece; but this form of painting was not popular with him. It did, however, find favor with his followers and among these Palma developed the idea with much success.

These pictures present few, if any, new characteristics. Mary frequently turns with the dramatic twist of the body Palma so often affected and from time to time Bellinesque types reappear. Occasionally there is introduced a landscape that recalls Giorgione. Throughout Palma is true to his training.

Besides painting formal altarpieces and *Conversazioni* Palma also ventured into the fields of classical subject and portraiture. Bellini had given an impetus to legend and myth, and Giorgione had followed with his "Venus."

PALMA VECCHIO

Titian, making use of Giorgione's model, was painting many other classical subjects as well. In fact, as elsewhere in Italy, classical and legendary material now became very popular. It was only natural for Palma himself to work in these fields.

His "Venus," in Dresden, is beyond a doubt derived from Giorgione's—the difference being that the latter reclines on her back with the right arm over her head, while Palma's turns more toward the spectator, is awake, and leans upon her right arm. The proportions, as one might expect in a work by Palma, are full and less sure in line than those of Giorgione's work. So much does Palma's figure recall Titian's "Venus" in the Uffizi that the question rises whether Titian was not, in part at least, indebted to Palma as well as to Giorgione. Certainly there is more resemblance between Titian's and Palma's nude in the matter of physical appeal than between either of these and Giorgione's.

This is only one of Palma's many classical subjects, but its character is such as to make clear his manner in the others. Like Titian and unlike Giorgione he is led more to the sensuous side of art than to the impersonal. Like Titian he loved a full-blooded, soft-fleshed type to which he gave a rather sluggish, luxurious beauty. Not a great anatomist, he so generalizes in his nudes as to suggest a certain degree of ignorance.

In the manner of Titian, perhaps inspired by him, Palma liked to paint ideal portraits.

In the field of true portraiture Palma was no mean competitor of Titian himself. How Titianesque he could be is evidenced by the portrait of a woman in the Barberini Gallery, Rome, still known by the name of "La

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Schiava di Tiziano." The picture has been badly repainted in places, but not enough to prevent one from seeing how Palma has given to this full-formed woman much of the indolent charm of Titian's feminine portraits. The hair is smoothly brushed as both Titian and Palma liked it to appear, and the costume shows the huge sleeves Palma was fond of introducing. The exquisitely smooth texture of the skin on the breast and neck is the property of Palma's women.

Like Titian Palma more or less settled upon one type for his female portraits. In the men's he asserted himself with strength and differentiating force. It is in his feminine portraits, however, and in those pictures which offer an opportunity for the introduction of women, whether draped or nude, that Palma makes his most conspicuous contribution to Venetian painting. The type he selected we have already noted. Much of the beauty of this feminine type is due to the delicate coloring with which it is painted and the finely adjusted color sense that displays itself elsewhere in the pictures. Even in his early days the artist was caught by the fugitive treatment of light and shade in the work of Giorgione. This was nicely adapted to his habit of work which aimed at producing the most voluptuous rendering of flesh possible. So as he progresses the surfaces become more and more hazy, and the outlines dimmer and dimmer, until in his late work all form is practically veiled in an enveloping haze which almost obliterates precision of form.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Lorenzo Lotto

IN Lorenzo Lotto we come to an artist who, beginning his pictorial life as a devotee of Alvise Vivarini, changes that manner in later years through an intimacy with the great Titian.

Lotto was born at Venice in 1480: he died in 1557 at Loreto where he had obtained a refuge in the Monastery of the Holy House. Except for a few years from about 1508 to 1512 he spent his life in Venice or at Bergamo and in the Marches. What may be called his Bergamesque period inserts itself between the two periods at the beginning and end of his life at Venice.

Although there can be little doubt that Lotto's style derives for the most part from Alvise Vivarini, it would be practically impossible for a painter who came to his maturity at a time when Giovanni Bellini was leading Venetian art into new fields not to show some signs of that painter's style. But other painters, such as Palma, Pordenone and Cima, left fleeting impressions upon his not too fixed style.

After a lapse of several years, some of which were spent in Rome when Raphael was at work in the Stanza della Segnatura, we find Lotto in Bergamo winning a commission for a large altarpiece intended for the Church of S. Stefano. The picture is now in the Church of S. Bar-

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tolommeo. The work is signed and dated by the artist in the year 1516.

There is a possibility that in painting this ambitious



S. Bartolommeo, Bergamo

Alinari

LORENZO LOTTO: "MADONNA AND CHILD
WITH SAINTS"

picture the artist once more had in mind Vivarini's altarpiece in the Church of the Frari. But the remembrance was faint, for other influences, to say nothing of Lotto's own nervous style, creep into the work. Mary and the Child recall Cima's "Madonna and Child" in Parma, in

which the Mother and Child are grouped with six saints. In a remote way there is a suggestion of the setting of Raphael's imposing background in the "School of Athens." One would not wish to push the comparison too far, but one should remember that Lotto had recently been in Rome where he could hardly have escaped being strongly impressed by Raphael's masterpieces. One might even wish to see further reminiscences of the Urbinate painter in the introduction of the fluttering angels which support Mary's crown—since much the same group appears in Raphael's "Madonna of the Baldachino."

A tendency toward exaggeration, which marks the painter as one of the lesser men of his day, leads Lotto to seek to enliven his works at times by the introduction of irrelevant material—as in the picture in Berlin representing Christ taking leave of His Mother. In the background rabbits leap around, a cat stalks into the scene, while an insignificant little dog hops about the kneeling donor. These trivial figures, as well as the unnecessary cherry branch in the foreground, are bad enough, but they do not destroy the dignity of the picture half so much as the emotional exaggeration seen in the swooning figure of Mary or the affected position of Christ. The effect throughout is artificial. Lotto aimed at the delineation of poignant grief only to succeed in producing a feeling of bathos.

In 1528 Lotto entered upon his second Venetian period. At the time of returning to his native city Titian was established completely as the master painter whose style was the art of the time. Other painters felt compelled to adopt his manner so far as they could, and Lotto himself fell under his spell. His own natural style of painting

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is one in which cool, pale colors dominate. This he had tried to change to follow the deeper, richer manner of Giorgione and the method of Palma, only to return to his own more fluid style. Now, under the influence of the



National Gallery, London

Hanfstengl

LORENZO LOTTO: "AGOSTINO AND NICCOLÒ
DELLA TORRE"

more resonant color of Titian, he began to modify his own into a stronger tone. At times even he seems to have adopted the Titianesque form.

One may perhaps cavil at Lotto's failure to rise to a great height in religious or mythological subjects, but no such complaint may be raised against him as a painter of portraits. He is truly an interpretative portraitist

LORENZO LOTTO

in whom a marked element of kindliness is apparent. His sitters were, by and large, people from the ordinary walks of life and not likely, therefore, as were many of Titian's, to wear the air of refinement and the marks of high birth which help the painter so much in giving distinction to his portraits. These characteristics were not at hand to assist Lotto.

Yet, as in the double portrait of Dr. Agostino della Torre and his brother, painted at Bergamo in 1516, the artist gives to the faces, especially to that of the physician, a thoughtful, kindly expression which makes the likeness most convincing.

Lotto's influence was insignificant. Some traces of it appear in Cariani and Previtali, among the better painters, and more distinctly in a group of decidedly lesser men who merely caricatured his work while themselves contributing nothing to the development of art. Yet in spite of this apparent lack of personal force which might have made of Lotto a dominating factor, it is interesting to know from Aretino, Titian's friend, that the latter held Lotto's judgment in high esteem.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Sebastiano del Piombo

SEBASTIANO LUCIANI, who in later life was known, from the office of the Piombo, to which he was appointed in 1531, as Sebastiano del Piombo, is the first Venetian in whom we see a frank attempt to take on the style of the Florentine school, and more specifically the style of Michelangelo.

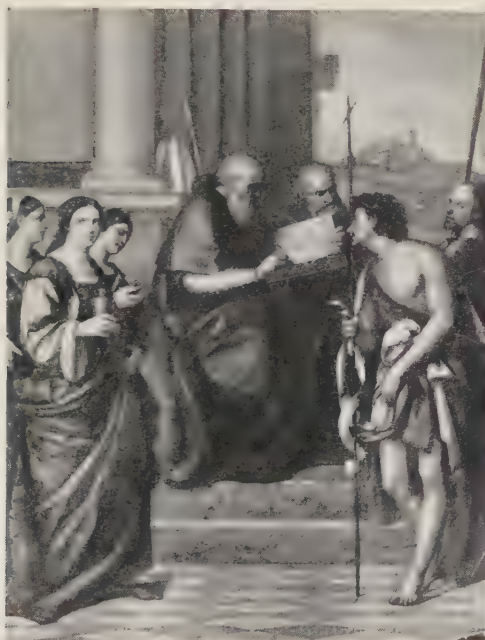
If we may trust Vasari, who says Sebastiano was sixty-seven years old when he died in the year 1547, the date of his birth is 1485. He is therefore just a little younger than Giorgione, Titian, Palma, and Lotto.

His first teacher, says Vasari, was Giovanni Bellini—which seems more or less corroborated by certain Bellinesque traits in his early works. But, granting this, it must be remembered that, at the time he was coming to manhood, Giorgione and not Bellini was establishing the fashion in art at Venice. The only work as a fact which may be positively associated with Sebastiano's pre-Roman period in Venice displays unmistakable evidence of impressions received from Giorgione.

This picture is the "Glory of St. John Chrysostom," now in the Church of S. Giovanni Crisostomo in Venice. The pensive dignity of the male saints, particularly of St. Liberalis, appears in Giorgione's works, and the pervasive stillness of the scene has the hush of the "Madonna"

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO

of Castelfranco. The female saints are more of the imposing form seen in Palma. The dignity of the monumental setting reminds one of Titian, or Giorgione's "Judgment of Solomon" at Kingston Lacy.



S. Giovanni Crisostomo, Venice

Alinari

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO: "ST. JOHN
CHRYSOSTOM"

Technically the work shows Sebastian thoroughly imbued with the principles laid down by Giorgione. The chiaroscuro is most subtle, producing that indefiniteness of outline loved by the latter painter. The brilliancy at the horizon is suggestive of Giorgione's manner. The

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picture was probably painted somewhere in the period between the years 1508 and 1510, or just after the latter artist's death and a short time prior to Sebastian's departure for Rome.

The direct cause of his withdrawal from Venice in 1511 was an invitation from Agostino Chigi, who desired him to paint in the recently finished Villa Farnesina. Once in Rome Sebastiano immediately began his work with subjects from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Although the pictures apparently did not lead Chigi to continue to employ him, they, or other works by the artist, were successful enough to attract the attention of Raphael and Michelangelo. From Sebastiano they learned something of the possibilities of color as it was used by the Venetians; and with him Michelangelo formed an intimate friendship which seems to have lasted at least up to the time of the painting of the "Last Judgment" in the Sistine Chapel.

If Raphael learned something from the Venetian, the indebtedness was not all on one side, for in the female portrait in the Uffizi, that commonly called the "Fornarina," Sebastian shows how much he tried to take on Raphael's refinement. In this respect he is not successful, for, whereas Raphael's feminine likenesses are gracious and well-bred, in both of these the type is the more sensuous one observed in Venetian art. The Uffizi picture shows Sebastiano coarsening a type developed by Giorgione. This work dates in the year 1512.

Raphael's style still so hovered before Sebastiano's eyes that by 1518 he had acquired something of Raphael's distinction.

Perhaps as far back as 1512 Sebastiano formed a kind

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO

of partnership with Michelangelo, and immediately along with and gradually taking precedence over Raphael's, the great Florentine's style begins to influence the Venetian.

The fact that Michelangelo assisted his friend much



Uffizi, Florence

Alinari

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO: "FORNARINA"

in the way of supplying drawings does not seem to have worked to the injury of Sebastiano's reputation. Perhaps, on the contrary, the knowledge that such help was likely to be forthcoming may have facilitated the sale of the painter's pictures. At any rate he rose quickly in public estimation so that in 1518 Cardinal Giulio de'

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Medici gave him a commission for a "Raising of Lazarus" at the same time that Raphael was asked to paint the "Transfiguration." It is thought that the Cardinal's object in giving these simultaneous orders was to spur Raphael at least to do his best, for undoubtedly he was letting assistants participate in his work more than was for its good.

Death overtook the Urbinate before he completed his great canvas, while Sebastian finished his in 1519. It is now in the National Gallery in London. In it the evidences of indebtedness to Michelangelo are more marked than ever, and one might easily suspect that Michelangelo eagerly followed its successful evolution with the idea of discomfiting his rival, Raphael. The canvas is of huge proportions, something over nine by twelve feet on the sides, and the chief actors are of a proportionate size. Perhaps the most positive indication of Michelangelo's instruction, if not actual participation, so far as supplying a drawing could be called such, appears in the titanic form of Lazarus in whom one seems to see fused together the colossal prophets and nudes of the Sistine Ceiling. This likeness obtains not only in the proportions, which are distinctly Michelangelesque, but as well in the torsion of the figure itself, and the spirit of the Florentine reappears in the figures supporting the risen dead. Whether the declamatory quality observable in the picture was derived by Sebastiano from his friend or was inherent in himself we may not say. The probability is that at least it was latent in him and sympathetically reacted to the stimulus coming from Buonarroti.

For the most part the work is undoubtedly Sebastiano's.

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO

Had Michelangelo controlled the arrangement, the figures would have come closer to resembling statues and there would have been the most elemental background. Sebastian, on the contrary, conceives his scene pictorially and handles his background as a Venetian. He has, to



Pitti, Florence

Alinari

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO: PORTRAIT OF A MAN

be sure, suggested the banks of the Tiber in the distance, but he uses his light upon his buildings in the way Giorgione did. The faces on the whole are unselective and often repeated from person to person as if the artist had either economized on the model or was indifferent to the fact that he was repeating. Even the head of Christ falls

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just short of being what it should be to express His divinity. Yet it is powerful, and the gestures of His hands and the carriage of His person are compelling. The lighting is coldly brilliant, picking out particularly the two chief actors as well as a few immediate figures in the foreground and falling in a cold glare upon the house in the background.

As a portrait painter Sebastian had the Venetian artist's usual ability. This appears in several undated works and noticeably in the majestic portrait in the Pitti Gallery showing a man with a black cape and fur collar. The drawing is full of power, the proportions showing the heroic size popular with the Venetian artists. In the face is nothing of the tender modeling one might expect from an artist who painted the "Glory of St. John Chrysostom." Instead there shows the definite lighting and modeling Sebastian learned from Michelangelo and the Florentine school.

In 1531 Sebastian was appointed to the Piombo, after which time he seems to have lived up to the reputation Cellini gave him by taking his work in a leisurely fashion.

CHAPTER XXXV

Pordenone; Paris Bordone

Pordenone

IN Giovanni Antonio, the son of Angelo di Sacchis, and from his home town, better known as Pordenone, we have another example of an artist who came from the mainland to fall under the spell of the painters of Venice. He was born in 1483 and lived until 1540. Upon arriving in Venice he felt the effects of contact with Giorgione, Palma, and Titian and, like Sebastiano del Piombo, with Michelangelo. Some critics even think to see something of Correggio's influence in his work, but what perhaps stands out most patently is the teaching of Michelangelo as it manifests itself in largeness of form and movement and in perspective.

Perhaps as characteristic as any of his works is the "Adoration of the Kings" of the cathedral at Treviso. It was done in 1519. By this time the artist has frankly gone over to Michelangelo, whose forms he attempts to reproduce in the bulking figures in the foreground. Like other artists who thought that the secret of the Florentine's heroic qualities lay in overdeveloped forms, Pordenone represents his actors—for example, the figure seen back to in the foreground and the nude figure beyond him—with proportions that become almost gro-

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tesque because of their huge size. The nude, hairless figure just referred to might have stepped out from among the demons of Michelangelo's "Last Judgment." The exaggerated form in front of him could have no meaning in the picture except to afford the painter an opportunity to draw a figure in a difficult position. The kneeling king is out of all proportion to the rest of the group. Mary's twisted position is a popular one with Pordenone.



Cathedral, Treviso

Altman

PORDENONE: "ADORATION OF THE KINGS"

Pordenone excels in fresco, that branch of painting in which the Venetians had little interest, and in this medium he attains a richness of color that almost rivals the sumptuous effects obtainable in oil. To his color he adds a softening quality of chiaroscuro reminiscent at times of Giorgione. He is an artist in whom the feeling for action is much more marked than is usual with painters associated with the Venetian school, but in striving for this vitalizing quality he is apt to exaggerate. This fault is

PORDENONE; PARIS BORDONE

evident in the forced positions into which he throws the figures themselves. He, like Sebastiano, was much more interested in the difficulties presented by the problem of perspective than was the average Venetian painter.

Bordone

Fashioned in part upon the style of Titian, in part upon that of Palma Vecchio, and thoroughly a representative of the Venetian school as it glories in the painting of blonde-haired women with fair skins and full, sensuous forms, is Paris Bordone. He was born at Treviso in 1495 and at an early age sent to Venice to study with Titian. For some reason the two did not get on well together so Bordone soon left to devote his time to a study of the work of the now dead Giorgione. He must have been a precocious artist and of considerable power, at least in the eyes of his contemporaries, for Vasari tells us that when he was but eighteen years old he was awarded a commission of enough importance for Titian to intrigue in such a way that Bordone lost it to him.

Probably about 1520 he began to attract attention to himself. Sometime after his unpleasant experience with Titian he went to Vicenza where, according to Vasari, he painted the "Story of Noah" in the Loggia of the Piazza with such success that the work stood as a rival to that of Titian's. The picture has been lost so that we have no way of testing Vasari's estimate, but from what we know of Bordone's work elsewhere, good as it is at times, Vasari's enthusiasm seems somewhat extravagant.

After the completion of his painting at Vicenza Bor-

A HISTORY OF ITALIAN PAINTING

done seems to have returned to Venice where for the most part he spent the remainder of his life. At the invitation of Francis I, says Vasari, he went to France



Pitti, Florence

Alinari

PARIS BORDONE: COPY OF TITIAN'S
"PAUL III"

in 1538. Later he is said to have visited Augsburg at the invitation of the wealthy family of the Fuggers.

Bordone is at his best in portraiture. His likenesses, especially of men, have power and dignity, and his women, while conforming to the somewhat bovine type invented or at least introduced into Venetian art, by Palma,

PORDENONE; PARIS BORDONE

have a certain heavy beauty. His activities, however, were not confined to this branch of painting, for we find him attacking the regulation subjects of the Renaissance both in religious and mythological, or allegorical, fields.

He was much affected by the art of Titian. Nothing could make this clearer than his "Paul III" in the Pitti, which is a copy of Titian's portrait now in Naples. At a later date he felt somewhat the spell of Michelangelo. While it is true that Titian has some effect upon Bordone, there are marked differences which widely separate the two artists. There is, for example, in the latter's painting of the nude a quality of sensuousness which is even more apparent than in Titian's painting. Furthermore, whereas Titian always exhibits a serenity or restraint, Bordone, particularly in his mythological and religious subjects, is apt to show affectation. His landscapes, for the greater part modeled upon those of Titian, are tintured at the same time with a poetic feeling derived from Giorgione. In the field of portraiture Bordone shows much the same scope in the arrangement of his figures, and in the painting of fanciful likenesses, as Titian.

In most of his portraits of women the artist expends great care in an elaborate treatment of the hair, which is no longer neatly parted and brushed in loose masses over the shoulders, as was the habit with Titian and Palma, but is richly waved and twined with ropes of pearls. The flesh is painted with all the skill that can be applied to bring out its whiteness and its tender softness. The eyes are remarkably dark and sparkling, and no longer veiled in dreamy pensiveness, as in Titian's work. The nose is long and the nostrils curved upward on each side of the tip. The mouth is very small with a full, soft under-

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lip and a definitely emphasized Cupid's bow in the upper. The outline of the face is softly round.

In his portraits of men Bordone, like most of the Vene-



Academy, Venice

Naya

PARIS BORDONE: "THE FISHERMAN PRESENTING
THE RING OF ST. MARK TO THE DOGE"

tians, was more interested in getting the individual character of the sitter than when he painted women. In the latter he fixed more or less upon a type to which he made the sitter conform. How successful he could be in male portraits can be seen from one or two examples.

PORDENONE; PARIS BORDONE

In his religious pictures he reflects the influence of his contemporaries in Venice.

Bordone rises to his best in the fine picture in the Academy at Venice in which is represented the fisherman presenting the ring of St. Mark to the Doge. Not only is the color rich, but the setting has all the magnificence that Titian could have given it. The lighting is skillfully manipulated, the picture is full of air, and the composition is coherent. The figure seated on the steps at the water's edge, which reminds one of Titian and Carpaccio in its placing, acts as a means of inducting the spectator into the picture.

Had Bordone always painted like this he would, at least in this type of picture, have been a dangerous rival of Titian. But he seems to have been unable to maintain this high level. Sensuous as Titian is, he always gives his forms a certain dignity. Bordone, on the other hand, represents his feminine types more often than not with so distinct an emphasis on their physical appearance that his works are sometimes dangerously near being vulgar. His male portraits are well rendered; but even in them the artist just fails of the distinction which makes Titian's imposing presentations of character.



Academy, Venice

PAOLO VERONESE: "FEAST AT THE HOUSE OF LEVI"

Alinari

CHAPTER XXXVI

Paolo Veronese

UP to now we have seen in Venetian art practically nothing that was not an offshoot in some way of the Vivarinesque or Bellinesque schools. With Paolo Caliari, commonly called Veronese, we come to an artist who breaks entirely from the deep, rich style which was growing up in Venice under the hands of Titian and his contemporaries, to inaugurate one in which the whole effect is decidedly light and gay.

Paolo Caliari was born at Verona about 1528 and died in Venice in 1588. His father, Gabriel Caliari, was a sculptor and his brother a specialist in painting architectural backgrounds. His early environment was therefore artistic. Tradition has it that he started out in life to be a sculptor. Soon, however, he turned to painting, studying this art with Antonio Badile so successfully that by the time he was twenty years of age he found a patron in Cardinal Hercules Gonzaga, for whom he worked on the dome of the Cathedral at Mantua. Bored by the limitations which the task imposed upon his style, he returned to his native city, Verona, where, in company with a painter named Zelatti, he undertook the decoration of the Villa Forti, which was located just outside the city. The subjects he depicted were games, hunting scenes, and themes taken from mythology and history.

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With the opportunities they offered for large decorative effects, these were entirely suited to his temperament.

In 1555, when twenty-seven years old, he went to Venice where through the kind offices of Cardinal Tordini, himself a native of Verona, he obtained commissions to paint for the Brotherhood of St. Sebastian.

It is difficult to trace Veronese's steps after his arrival at Venice. We know, however, that from 1555 to 1588 he was incessantly busy. During this period he visited Treviso, Castelfranco, and Asolo on the mainland. At the latter place he produced a notable work in the decoration of the Villa Barbaro which had been erected by Palladio for the Patriarch of Aquileia. Here some religious subjects were introduced but, for the most part, the themes were taken from mythology. Thus in the cupola he gives a vision of a classic pantheon. In the figures of these gods Veronese shows deep sympathy with the better mood of the Renaissance by retaining in his figures a sobriety and impersonal charm which differentiates his nudes from the more sensuous figures of other painters.

This work in the Villa Barbaro completed, the artist returned to Venice to paint his remarkable "Marriage at Cana" for the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore. It is now in the Louvre. In this great canvas are something like one hundred and twenty complete figures. We see the artist fully revealed as a great scenic painter whose only intention is the achievement of an impressive decoration. Christ is a solitary, inconspicuous figure in the background, surrounded by the pomp and circumstance of a sumptuous Venetian feast. The religious theme, as elsewhere in Veronese's work, becomes but an opportu-

nity for an attractive picture. Everything that could be made use of to suggest the feeling of affluence is introduced—great towering columns, massive entablatures, polychromatic marbles, stiff brocades, deep-colored velvets and gleaming satins, all find a place in this great feast. Even the abundance of food and wine, the glinting glasses and the presence of musicians contribute to this feeling. It is as if Venice, in the full bloom of her prosperity and high living, were here personified. The picture is religious only in name. The likenesses of various potentates, Eleanor of Austria, Charles of Spain, and even the Sultan, Soliman I, to mention no others, are introduced to make this picture a gallery of princely portraits. Over this magnificent scene spreads light which renders brilliant the pale marble shafts of the background and the vast white-clouded sky behind.

The decorative spirit of the "Marriage at Cana" reappears in the equally imposing "Feast at the House of Levi," now in the Academy in Venice. This picture, painted about 1570, so shocked the sense of propriety of some individual that Veronese was brought before the Inquisition to defend himself against the charge of sacrilegiously painting soldiers and buffoons in a scene distinctly sacred. Veronese's reply to the effect that in painting such a subject he introduced whatever seemed best for producing the pictorial effect he desired makes it clear that his interest was primarily in the scenic result he could get rather than in the religious intent of the theme. In principle this picture is the same as the "Marriage at Cana." In fact, the organization is better, for, by the ascending lines of the stair-rail and the filling in of the outside arches by the buildings seen through them,

A HISTORY OF ITALIAN PAINTING

the eye is inevitably led to the figure of Christ. Here the glance is arrested both by the isolation of Jesus' form and the white mass of the tablecloth. As in the "Marriage at Cana," the religious element is reduced to the minimum, while the spectacular quality is stressed to the limit. The color scheme as usual is light—a fine vista



Louvre, Paris

Alinari

PAOLO VERONESE: "THE MARRIAGE AT CANA"

of creamy-colored palaces and a distant view of a white-clouded sky. The effect, as Veronese wished it to be, is grandiose, and the figures, as for example his own full-length portrait at the head of the left staircase, are in keeping with the setting.

Before this, probably late in 1564 or in 1565, Veronese visited Rome and, like many an artist who went to that city, he for a while reflected the classical influence and that of Michelangelo.

PAOLO VERONESE

It was during the years from 1565 to 1570, after his trip to Rome, that the painter was occupied with work in the Doge's Palace—work which unfortunately was burned in the disastrous fire of 1576. It is therefore not surprising to find that, when the restoration of the building began, Veronese was chosen in spite of his refusal to com-



Capitoline Gallery, Rome

Alinari

PAOLO VERONESE: "THE RAPE OF EUROPA"

pete in the concourse of artists, to replace, as it were, his lost pictures. The subjects were the return of Contarini after the conquest of the Genoans at Chioggia, Frederic at the feet of Alexander III, the triumph of Doge Venier over the Turks, and the Venice Triumphant in the Hall of the Ambassadors. These works were done between 1577 and 1580.

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In the field of mythology the classic element holds the attention of the artist very slightly, while the decorative possibilities in the theme are made the most of. A comparison of Veronese's "Rape of Europa" with Titian's treatment of the same subject reveals how far apart the two artists stood in their point of view. In Titian's work the emphasis is laid upon the nude with a strong accentuation of the sensuous element, while in Veronese's picture of the Capitoline Gallery, in Rome, these features are slighted to make the picture rather a scene of innocent joyousness. In the painting of the heads and shoulders of the different women, to be sure, the flesh painting is luminous and soft, but even here the painting of the nude occupies a no more important place than elsewhere in the artist's works. Color, on the other hand, is emphasized and lighting is skillfully used to make the picture a delight to one's sense of decorative beauty.

From what has been said it must be evident that throughout his life Veronese was less interested in the subject matter of his pictures than in their scenic possibilities. The hint Titian gave of the decorative value in imposing architectural setting was enough to cause the artist to make this feature most prominent. By no other agency could the painter so easily achieve the effect of magnificent spaciousness. In the individual as such he had little interest. Portraits he could paint, witness his own and others in his great Suppers, but the individual to him was only an object capable of being clothed in lovely colors which in turn could be used to work out a great spectacle. Upon these colors he allowed a radiant light to fall, which pervades the halls and colonnades and envelops the architecture and figures in an illuminating

PAOLO VERONESE

atmosphere. The effect of his larger works, owing to his remarkable employment of architectural perspective and circumambient atmosphere, is always spacious. One breathes the fresh sea air of Venice and views wonderfully mysterious light.

Contrasted with Titian and Tintoretto Veronese presents a buoyant disposition. This feeling is in part created by the undeniably carefree note struck by his grandiose, somewhat theatrically moving figures and in part by his range of color. In this latter field he opposes Titian and markedly Tintoretto, for his palette carries the lighter shades of blue, gray, rose and cream. These colors lend a quality of lightness and delicacy which makes for the feeling of luminous space. One looks in vain for the resonance of Titian or the thunderous qualities of Tintoretto. Instead one finds the ceremonious, if artificial, pomp of Venetian official life. Veronese is the state historian of his day. What in an earlier and homelier time Carpaccio did for the Venice of his day, Veronese does in the height of his city's affluence and power.

In a measure Veronese inaugurates a new style, evolved from his own consciousness and not dependent upon his predecessors or contemporaries. It is a style which properly leads on to Tiepolo and Piazzetta.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Tintoretto

IN Tintoretto, Titian's legitimate successor. we find the color sense of the latter maintained, although in a more somber mood, chiaroscuro pushed almost to the extreme, and action and drawing given a most important position.

Jacopo Robusti, the son of Battista Robusti, a well-to-do dyer from whose trade he received the nickname of *Il Tintoretto* or "The Little Dyer," was born in Venice about 1518. He died in his native city in 1594. At the time when he became of the proper age to be apprenticed with some artist, Titian was already in the height of his glory, so it was only natural that the boy should be placed in the studio of this distinguished artist.

Apparently his stay was of short duration. According to Ridolfi, the painter and critic who probably got his information from Tintoretto's children, the reason for the withdrawal was the fact that Titian soon became jealous of his pupil. This seems hardly possible, for Titian certainly had little to fear from a beginner working in his studio. The true reason may have been that Titian was an indifferent teacher, or, more likely, that the young painter, whom we know to have been headstrong, was not amenable to such artistic discipline as Titian thought necessary, and so, through sheer incompatibility of tem-

perament, found it advisable to leave his teacher's studio outright.

After this Tintoretto appears to have been self-taught. Appreciating that in the matter of drawing the Venetian school was weak, he undertook to remedy this defect by systematic, intensive training. To accomplish his end he drew much from the living model, practiced dissection, and even acquired casts of some of Michelangelo's sculptures which he assiduously copied. In addition to this he is said to have made for himself small wax figures which he suspended in boxes illuminated by artificial light admitted through holes. By this controlled lighting he could obtain whatever effects he desired and, by means of the suspended models, could place his figures in any position of difficult foreshortening. The result was that finally he obtained over his pencil a command so certain that no pose was too difficult for him.

So trained, one might reasonably suppose that Tintoretto would at once find employment. Such, however, was not the case. Venice had become so accustomed to the smoothly finished works of Titian and of those who had preceded, or grown up with, him that the impetuous style of the young artist was eyed with suspicion. With his method of painting Tintoretto either confused his public or else made them think that his work was hastily, and therefore incompletely, painted. For these reasons the Venetians would have none of him, so that his first years were ones of struggle. Titian himself and his boon companion Aretino may also have assisted in the belief that the new painter was a harebrained upstart.

For some time, therefore, Tintoretto found employment where he could, painting pictures, after the Vene-

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tian custom, on the façades of houses for the mere cost of his materials, or decorating furniture. Gradually through perseverance his value began to be appreciated so that in 1546 we hear of his first authenticated commission, a Feast of Belshazzar, painted, according to Ridolfi, on the front of the House of the Smiths of the Arsenal. Although this work has been lost, it shows that by the time the artist was twenty-eight years old, and in all probability before then, he had been recognized.

It was in these early days that Tintoretto approached the superior of the monastery to which belonged the Church of Sta. Maria dell' Orto with the proposition of decorating the Church for the cost of his materials. Probably in making this unusual offer the young artist was impelled first by the wish to attract attention to his work and secondly by the desire to train himself in painting upon a scale larger than his studio could permit. When one knows that the pictures in the choir are about fifty feet in height, it is easy to see that it was only upon some great wall that the artist could get the practice he wished, and since such great commissions were not usually given to comparatively unknown painters, Tintoretto was placed in the dilemma of going without the chance or doing the work without recompense. He chose the latter course and was eventually given one hundred ducats for his labor.

Tintoretto at once began his tremendous task with a fury that quickly attracted attention and soon displayed on one side of the choir the "Last Judgment" and on the other, the "Worship of the Golden Calf." A little later he supplemented these great works with his remarkable "Presentation of the Virgin" in the nave of the Church. These three pictures are still in place.



Sta. Maria dell' Orto, Venice

Anderson

TINTORETTO: "LAST JUDGMENT"

The "Last Judgment" displays a feeling for sweeping motion hitherto unknown in Venetian art. One receives the impression of a vast throng called forth by the last trump, of the confusion and the tumult which might be imagined as attending the Day of Judgment. In the depths of the picture, which glows with a dreadful light,

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the souls are plunged into the abysmal depths of the river Styx or rise out of those depths, reclaimed for eternal bliss. To the right the souls are dragged into Charon's already crowded skiff, while in the foreground some gruesomely show, in the growing twigs which replace fingers and hair, the return of the body to the earth.



Sta. Maria dell' Orto, Venice

Alinari

TINTORETTO: "WORSHIP OF THE GOLDEN CALF"

A tremendous feeling of motion is conveyed by the stream of forms which emerge from the ground and whirl resistlessly up to judgment. It is by this group that the composition of the picture is obtained, for it makes a great arc which sweeps from the lower part upward first to the left and then to the right, directing the spectator thoroughly through the scene.

The work is an impressive conception of the awfulness

TINTORETTO

of the Last Day; in that particular it transcends Michelangelo's Sistine painting. It shows how at this comparatively early age Tintoretto had firmly set his feet in the path he was to follow to the end of his life. Up to his time painters had worked upon their pictures with the idea of rendering each detail so that, when closely examined, it should present as near an imitation of the object represented as possible.

Tintoretto, with a keener vision, saw that this was inappropriate, since at the given point of view from which the picture as a whole was to be seen these closely finished parts lost the appearance intended. He therefore used a style of painting which near at hand looked hasty and even dauby, but at the proper distance pulled together to render an effect like that of nature. This might be called impressionism: if so, Tintoretto is the first artist to employ this method in Venetian painting.

After these pictures in Sta. Maria dell' Orto we hear of no more large works by the artist until the year 1548, when he painted for the Scuola di San Marco the "Miracle of St. Mark." The picture, now in the Academy, is a perfect illustration of Tintoretto's love of vigorous action, powerful forms, and difficult positions. So keen indeed was the artist to vitalize the scene into vivid reality that the treatment is theatrical. The twisting movement of the executioner who holds up the broken hammer for the inspection of the judge, the backward leaning woman at the left, who, by the way, might have got a much more comfortable view had she retreated a little, and the plunging, abruptly foreshortened figure of the saint, all show how the artist has searched for unusual and dramatic movement. The actual scene would

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unquestionably have been exciting and one easily suspects that it was gladly seized upon by the painter because it was capable of vigorous, forceful interpretation. It gave him a chance to draw his figures in difficult posi-



Academy, Venice

Alinari

TINTORETTO: "RESCUE OF A SHIPWRECKED
CHRISTIAN"

tions, and it afforded him an opportunity to play with light and shade. Not only does he show his sheer skill in the foreshortening of the figure of Saint Mark, but he allows this hurtling form to throw an ominous shadow upon the clustered shafts at the left. Throughout the picture there is a keen interest in brilliant light and cor-

TINTORETTO



Academy, Venice

Alinari

TINTORETTO: "THE MIRACLE OF ST. MARK"

respondingly deep shadow. The work glows with blues, reds, and scarlets. As yet the painter, still in his youth, has not passed to the more somber coloring he later employs.

The same impressionistic manner which Tintoretto had previously employed in his pictures in Sta. Maria dell' Orto he displayed in this work, calculating his technique with a nicety which made the effect satisfactory at a certain distance but unpleasantly sketchy and apparently hasty when seen close at hand. The picture accepted, the painter soon followed it with three others representing the discovery of the body of St. Mark at Alexandria, the transportation of the body to Venice, and the rescue of a shipwrecked Christian.

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The last of these works in some ways offers interesting comparisons with the "Miracle." In it the same motive of the downward-plunging figure is used and the same daring foreshortening is displayed in the now reversed position of the Saint. With remarkable ability the painter has given, in the figure of the rescued man, a perfect impression of a form easily borne upward out of danger. The same sense of awe which Tintoretto gave to his "Last Judgment" is developed in this picture. The gloomy clouds with their livid edges, the crashing waves, the sweeping winds, and the plunging ship all combine to create the impression of the terrible power of nature. Even the brilliant, fearsome glow which shows behind the head of the rescued Christian, and apparently breaks through the clouds elsewhere outside the canvas to fall on the lower part of his body and the figures in the boat, helps to increase the feeling of desolation.

The next great work was executed some time after 1560, when Tintoretto painted the "Apotheosis of St. Roch" in the ceiling of the refectory of the Scuola di San Rocco. The story is told that, when the commission for this picture was thrown open to a competition into which Veronese, Schiavone, Salviati, and Zuccaro entered, Tintoretto connived to have his own finished picture put in place so that, when the day for the award came and the other competitors arrived with their sketches, Tintoretto removed the covering from his work and revealed it already in place.

Although this was considered an unfair step to take, the Brotherhood were practically forced to accept the work because of a rule of the order that gifts to the Saint might not be refused—and Tintoretto had made the order

TINTORETTO



Scuola di San Rocco, Venice

Anderson

TINTORETTO: "CRUCIFIXION"

a present of his picture. The work, however, must have been satisfactory because the painter was retained at a salary of one hundred ducats a year on the condition that he produce one picture annually for the Scuola. This was the beginning of a long association with the Brotherhood, which, in fact, began as far back as 1559.

It was in 1566 that the painter finished his first great picture for the Scuola—the "Crucifixion" in the refectory. While it contains a throng of figures and seems at first to be confused, the organization of the composition is such that the figure of Christ is the one dominating form. Even the other crosses have not yet been put in place in order that there shall be no weakening of the proper emphasis. The figures are organized in a great circle seen in perspective with the cross rising across and above it from out the massive pyramid of figures at its base. Dramatic as the scene is and full of illustrations of Tintoretto's fondness for unusual positions and foreshortening and his interest in light, these features do not so overwhelm the presentation that its impressive pathos is in any way impaired.

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While at work in the Scuola di San Rocco Tintoretto finally succeeded in winning in competition a commission to decorate the Hall of the Grand Council. Much of this work was destroyed by the disastrous fire of 1577.

Perhaps the greatest of Tintoretto's achievements in the Ducal Palace is the work of his old age, the vast "Paradise" of the Sala del Consiglio. The canvas, something like thirty feet in height by seventy-four in length, contains several hundred figures.

Other artists all through the history of Italian painting have attempted this subject only to succeed in showing a formal presentation of seated figures. It remained for the great Venetian to accomplish the impossible by gathering together his vast crowd in such a fashion that one can imagine himself really confronted by the surging throng of Heaven, and this is so arranged, and the colors so harmoniously ordered, that perfect unity results. Tier upon tier in concentric ranks the tremendous concourse is ordered until in the center appear the figures of Christ and Mary silhouetted against a bright light. The color note of the picture is sonorous, with blue predominating over the plentiful use of red; and over this majestic field of color spreads the light which emanates from the Divine Presence. This overpowering picture is the work of an old man, yet in no wise does it show the tremulous hesitation of age. In it the painter carried practically to completion the impressionistic method toward which he was groping in his youth.

One cannot take leave of Tintoretto without recognizing his power as a painter of portraits. Perhaps not as grandiose in this field as Titian, he gives dignity to his likeness and shows a power of drawing possibly greater.

TINTORETTO

The number of portraits is large, so that it will be impossible to examine this province of his art with any degree of thoroughness.

He is sometimes unfortunate in drawing his hands and especially his ears, which he reduces to an unpleasant shape, but such faults are compensated for by the richness of his colors and his ability to characterize his sitter. Portraiture, however, was not the field in which he was principally interested. He desired larger opportunity for the great problems which held his attention.

It was unfortunate that the decline of the Venetian State followed after Tintoretto so that there was little chance for the perpetuation and development of art along the lines he had laid down. Setting out, as the motto in his studio announced, to rival the drawing of Michelangelo and the color of Titian, he attained a success in these two provinces of art which makes him a more perfectly rounded artist than either of his models. Undoubtedly Michelangelo, to say nothing of Raphael, surpassed Tintoretto in draughtsmanship, and Titian may have displayed a more noble palette; but neither so combined the two virtues of drawing and color as to make them competitors of Tintoretto. In their own special fields it is much to be questioned if Michelangelo or Titian could exhibit the refinement of drawing and subdued harmony of luminous color spread out by Tintoretto on his canvases.

His influence, as already said, was not extensive. Yet there is every reason to believe that the great Velasquez and the subtle Van Dyck carried away from a study of his painting something that gave splendid sobriety to their art.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Piazzetta; Tiepolo

TINTORETTO is the last of the great Venetians. After him comes a throng of small men who, by making use of the older, greater painters, produce imitations, at times good, more often bad, of the styles of their models. Unable to live up to the standard set for themselves they conceive exaggeration and the unusual to be the properties of art. The grandiose dignity of the old school is gone. Then as elsewhere in Italy art moved on to the baroque. It escaped, however, something of the cold artificiality seen on the mainland, perhaps because of its traditional fondness for color and the appeal of the sensuous. Rather we find a tendency toward sentimentality and prettiness. Venice, more than ever a city of luxury and pleasure, reflects her life in the trivialities of her art.

Piazzetta

It is not until the close of the century that an artist appears who can claim more or less distinction. This is Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, who was born in 1682 near Treviso. He associated himself with the Venetian school and died in Venice in 1754.

All that was daring in drawing and lighting in Veronese and Tintoretto reappears in accentuated form in the work

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of this man. In the Cupola of the Chapel of S. Domenic in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, the figures are foreshortened with an abruptness which im-



SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice

Alinari

PIAZZETTA: "THE GLORY OF ST. DOMENIC"

presses the spectator with the feeling that the artist was bent upon producing a *tour de force*. Correggio himself could have been no more daring. It is this obtrusion of technique and the marked emphasis laid on action of a

PIAZZETTA; TIEPOLO

theatrical character which makes Piazzetta so complete an exponent of the spirit of his time.

Before arriving in Venice he seems to have come in contact with the Carracci, from whom he learned much



Academy, Venice

Alinari

PIAZZETTA: "THE FORTUNE TELLER"

about the handling of light and shade. In this province he shows as deep an interest as Tintoretto. A good illustration of this side of his art is the head of an old man in the Brera, in which the artist's preoccupation is manifestly in the handling of the brilliant light that falls full

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upon the top of the head and face. The illumination is about as intense as could be imagined, yet the transition to the deep shadows is so nicely graduated that a peculiarly soft modeling results. The work has much power and shows that even in this period of decadence Piazzetta was a forceful painter.

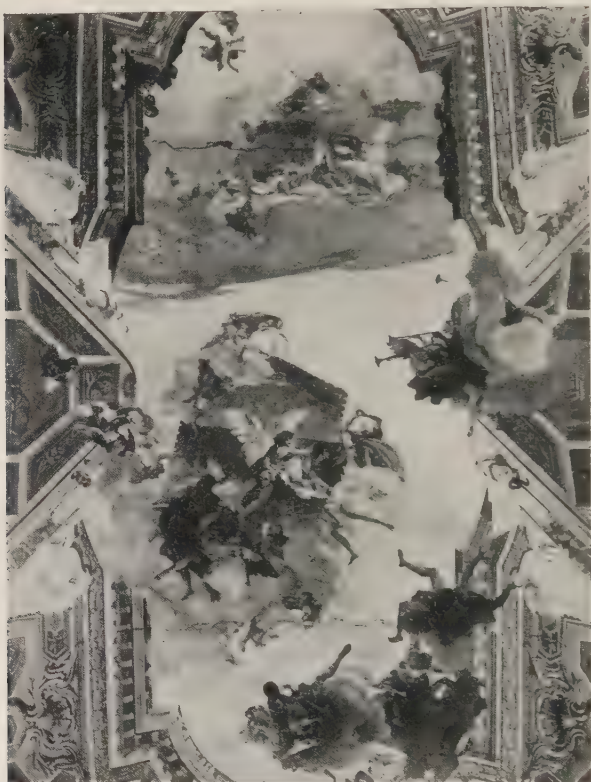
Tiepolo

In Tiepolo we have the spirit of Veronese reappearing in a time when Venice no longer produced robust, full-blooded men, but those whose lives were spent in frivolity and pleasure-hunting. He was born in Venice in 1692. His father was a rich merchant, who, dying when Giovanni was but a year old, left enough wealth so that the future artist never knew the grind of poverty. Tradition has it that he was a pupil of Piazzetta, and his daring compositions give some reasons for accepting the tradition. But his pearly, luminous lighting and fugitive chiaroscuro are less like Piazzetta's than possibly Veronese's.

His style, in fact, seems more definitely formed upon the art of the latter artist than upon that of any one else. He employs the same stately architecture as Veronese and returns to the rational, or apparently rational, forms employed by that painter. Yet to say that Tiepolo passed over all the intervening art to model himself entirely upon Caliari is wrong, for Tiepolo, while a robust painter, was yet a child of his time in that he gives to his picture the charm of romanticism and a bit of the frivolity which marked his day. He has not escaped the influence of these ceiling painters who, like Correggio,

PIAZZETTA; TIEPOLO

loved to paint forms in most difficult, foreshortened positions. Such ceiling-painting of course had been at-



Formerly in the Church of the Scalzi, Venice

Naya

TIEPOLO: "THE SACRED HOUSE OF LORETO"
(destroyed)

tempted long before the advent of Tiepolo and his immediate predecessors, by Mantegna and those who followed him. But it remained for these painters of the seven-

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teenth and eighteenth centuries to show buoyant forms sporting in radiant space.

Perhaps the best possible expression of the painter's ability to represent forms in rapid motion through limitless space was the now utterly destroyed "Sacred House of Loreto," also in the Church of the Scalzi. Far above through billowing clouds sweeps the sacred house borne by innumerable angels and followed by swooping, plunging figures. What Veronese did in his time in this province of aerial perspective seems heavy in comparison with this vision of infinite space and floating forms. Even the lighting is more luminous, so that not only are the forms enveloped in radiance, but the clouds themselves seem to be the source of a glow of their own. If Tiepolo needed any defense of his power, his technique, and his decorative sense, it would be found in this most impressive, if theatrical, picture.

Marking perhaps the highest level to which Tiepolo rose as a decorative painter, are his wall decorations in the Palazzo Labia in Venice. At opposite ends of the Great Hall the artist most skillfully evolved an architectural setting which both in design and in the manipulation of light carries out the real architectural decoration and lighting of the room. In one picture we seem to look through a great archway and windows into a brilliantly illuminated, splendid room beyond, in which sit Antony and Cleopatra at table. Frankly scenic as the picture is with its musicians' gallery and actors clad in contemporary costumes, at the same time it is doubtful if any artist ever succeeded in producing a more sumptuous decoration; and this statement disregards the skill displayed in perspective, lighting, and color.

PIAZZETTA; TIEPOLO

To attempt to pass in review all the works by Tiepolo is here impossible. It should be remembered, however,



Palazzo Labia, Venice

Naya

TIEPOLO: "ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA"

that the painter was prolific and that his fame spread far beyond the confines of his own city. We find him at Würzburg, painting in the Archbishop's Palace in the

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years 1750 to 1753 and going to Spain in 1762, where he died on March 27, 1770. Before the latter journey he had been elected the first president of the newly formed Venetian Academy.

Talented as he was, possessed of power, and as well a remarkable draughtsman, it was only natural that his art should have appealed to the French painters who loved the spectacular, and that his theatrical qualities should have been a source of inspiration for them in their baroque extravagances. Less lofty in his style than Tintoretto, yet skilled and facile, he is the last figure of importance in the history of Venetian painting.

CHAPTER XXXIX

The "Little Masters"

IT was only to be expected that after the greater artists, such as Veronese and Tiepolo, had illustrated the life of their times in a grandiose, or at least spectacular, fashion we should find men representing the trivial, incidental episodes of daily life. This form of painting had been especially popular in the North and it is more or less a wonder that Italy held out against it as long as she did.

In Venice as far back as the fifteenth century Carpaccio depicted the everyday life of his city. But with him it was a recording of the busy life of a healthy society. After him came Veronese who gloried in the sumptuous splendor of the nobility, and then Tiepolo who carried still further the pomp and artificial ceremony of Venice.

These three artists mark the change in the life of the City of the Lagoon. Carpaccio's homely dignity gives way to the pomp and ceremony of Veronese, as the State passes to the height of her power, and Veronese's splendor surrenders its place to the still imposing, but artificial, art of Tiepolo. Venice had passed beyond the days of her power and her life was being blown away in the froth of frivolity. Men were no longer heroic. Their minds

THE "LITTLE MASTERS"

were occupied with no more serious business than gossip, intrigue, dancing, and fast living; and, consonant with their taste, art now found itself illustrating the shallow life of this non-heroic existence.

Longhi

The most distinguished of these "Little Masters," who show *grandes dames* in their boudoirs, at their dressmakers', gallants calling upon ladies, or with them visiting the fortune-tellers, is Pietro Longhi, who was born in Venice in 1702 and died in the same city on 1762. At the start he apparently wished to follow in the footsteps of Tiepolo, to which end he attempted ambitious frescoes such as, in 1734, the "Fall of the Giants" in the Palazzo Sagreda. But, since his forte was not the rendering of such vast, decorative subjects, he wisely took himself to the representation of the *vie intime* of his time, in which he was so eminently successful that with a certain justice he has been called the Venetian Hogarth.

This appellation is correct, however, only so far as it is understood to imply that he holds up a mirror to the social life in which he found himself. He lacks that power of biting satire and that gift of moralizing that made the Englishman great. So far as one may judge from his pictures, Longhi took no offense at the secret loves of the women around him, the smiling intrigue of the cavaliers, or the frivolous frittering away of life in visits to the hairdresser or tailor. He merely records; but with remarkable accuracy and conviction, and with a fine sense for rich, mellow color. His early training as a goldsmith gave him firmness and unerring grace of

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line that stood him in good stead in producing easy, suave effects.

Strangely enough one finds the artist adventuring into religious fields, as for example in the "Temptation of St. Anthony" in the Querini-Stampalia Collection. Portraits he painted as well—notably that of the architect, Temanza, in the Academy of Venice, wherein he shows power of characterization.

Caneletto

What Longhi did for the private life of Venice, Antonio Canale, known as Caneletto, accomplished for the public life of her citizens. He was born in Venice in the year 1697, and died in the same city in 1768. His first teacher was his father, who was a scene painter, and this early training may have had something to do with his interest in architecture. Probably much more effective, however, in awakening the painter's mind to the artistic possibilities of architecture was a youthful visit to Rome, where he devoted himself to the study of both ancient and modern buildings. Upon his return to Venice he went up and down the city, painting the canals and buildings, the people walking along the streets, or in their boats, the festivals and processions—in fact, all those incidents which entered into the life of his day. In this work he is so literally accurate that his pictures could be used with safety in restoring the life of Venice in the eighteenth century. He loved the play of light on building and water, or fair skies with great, white, lazy clouds, and views showing far-reaching perspective. In this latter phase of painting his accurate effects were undoubt-

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edly helped by the use of an instrument not unlike a camera obscura.

Some subjects he painted many times. Among these are the Church and neighborhood of Sta. Maria della Salute, the Doge's Palace, and the Grand Canal. So persistent is the artist in introducing sunshine in his works



National Gallery, London

Anderson

CANELETTO: "REGATTA ON THE GRAND CANAL"

that one might suspect that the reason for painting outdoor scenes was the desire to study this phenomenon of nature.

Caneletto was extremely popular. His work was sought abroad, especially in England where he made two visits, one in early youth and one in 1751. He was a prolific painter, but painstakingly accurate. He was as well a skilled engraver. His influence was considerable, as is apt to be the case with a successful painter, so that there grew up around him a group of artists who did their best

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to emulate his style. Among these may be mentioned Marieschi and particularly Francesco Guardi.

Guardi

In many respects Caneletto was surpassed by Guardi who, if not a pupil, was deeply influenced by him. Whereas Caneletto drew with a searching accuracy which at times gives his pictures the character of a record of fact, Guardi had no hesitation in changing the proportions of his buildings to suit his need, or in introducing structures which were not actually to be seen in certain views, when by so doing he improved the effect. He is furthermore much less inclined to insist on the careful finish of detail, and this characteristic, coupled with a remarkable power in obtaining atmospheric effects, gives to his pictures a poetry not found in Caneletto's work.

The subject matter of Guardi's pictures is much the same as that of Caneletto's. He shows us Sta. Maria della Salute, and other churches of Venice, he gives us views of this or that canal, the Piazza di S. Marco with its crowds of people, and the usual festal scenes, but in addition he paints stretches of sea across the lagoon. In these he fills the air with a moist haze which with a softened light sends the distant buildings far toward the horizon.

More than Caneletto, he is fond of painting bits of landscape which attract him because of their romantic qualities. Such, for example, are a couple of pictures in the Uffizi. In one he shows a ruined arch at the left and near by a rough wharf which makes out into the water at the right. In the other he has painted a view of two

THE "LITTLE MASTERS"

bridges which cross a narrow stream, or canal. Over a high wall at the right falls a brilliant light which plays upon the bridges and leaves the wall itself in shadow. In both paintings, and particularly in the first, one notes the loose indefiniteness of the drawing. The artist seems to have desired, so far as he was able, to get away from the knifelike precision seen in Caneletto's work.



National Museum, Palermo

Brogi

GUARDI: "STA. MARIA DELLA SALUTE AT VENICE"

Both Caneletto and Guardi worked out of doors—Caneletto having a boat-studio which he moved from place to place—and both in a way were landscape painters. But these men were not landscape painters in the modern sense. In Guardi's pictures, which may be called landscapes and not architectural views, it is the unusual, the romantic feature that attracts the artist. Painters as yet, and this is not peculiar to the Venetian or the Italian

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school as a whole, felt that there must be something striking in the scene to make it worthy of record. This is the romantic style which precedes true modern landscape.

After these men Venetian art has little more to say. Out of Byzantine origins it developed its splendid color, its power in portraiture, and its notably decorative feeling. After long struggles it learned to appreciate landscape. It kept pace with the physical and political prosperity of the State. With the decline of the latter, as elsewhere in the peninsula, it slipped to decadence.

Not only Venice, but Italy as a whole, had nothing more to give. It is now the North which led. Even in the seventeenth century Italy could offer no painter comparable to Rembrandt. In the eighteenth France took the lead and David shackled upon art the cold mannerisms of neoclassicism.

NOTE ON TECHNICAL TERMS

Fresco is that method of painting in which colors mixed with water are applied to moist plaster. As the plaster dries a chemical change takes place whereby a glaze is spread over the surface in such a fashion as to render the colors practically indestructible. Because of the chemical action of the lime the number of colors used is limited and the majority are composed of natural earths. Because of its mass the plaster remains moist for some time, but it is often impossible to complete a picture at one sitting. For that reason the work has to be so arranged that the break in the painting shall come where it will be inconspicuous: for instance, such a break might occur where a neck emerged from the drapery. Whatever plaster remains at the close of the day's work is cut away and a fresh layer is laid for each successive stage. Such joinings can be seen in the colossal figures of the Sistine ceiling. This method of painting demands a sure hand and a definitely organized plan of work; for it is impossible to alter the design when once the hand has been laid to the plaster except by cutting out the offending part—a method which is apt to show the joining—or by correcting the work after the plaster is dry. This correction is accomplished by retouching, usually in tempera or in oil painting. True, or *buon*, fresco is always applied to fresh, wet plaster. *Fresco secco*, or *al secco*, is a variation, not so satisfactory, in which the plaster, after setting, is moistened with lime water and then painted as in true fresco. In fresco painting the design is transferred to the wall by holding the cartoon before it and tracing the outlines of the design with a stylus which leaves a faint groove on the moist plaster.

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TEMPERA, as used by the Italians and primarily employed for panel pictures, is that method of painting in which the colors are mixed with eggs beaten up with water and tempered with vinegar or the juice of the fig tree. Sometimes the colors are mixed with a size of glue or parchment or even with gum. This style of painting was nicknamed *al putrido* because of the tendency of the medium to decay before the work was completed. Tempera surpasses oil and fresco in the clarity of its colors. It has a purity impossible of attainment in the heavier medium of oil and a transparency quite its own. For this reason it is best adapted for the use of delicate tints and colors. When deep shadows are desired they must be obtained by the overlaying of successive coats of pigment. A defect of tempera is that the distributing medium dries so quickly that it does not permit a fusion of color any more than does fresco. For that reason shading and transitions from one tone to another have to be produced by hatching as one would with a pencil or pen. This rapid drying produces a precision of touch which makes the fluid spontaneity of oil painting impossible.

MOSAIC WORKING is the art of covering a wall or pavement with small pieces of stone, terracotta, or colored glass set in cement. Since pavement mosaics seldom appear as pictures, these may be disregarded. The art seems to have been known to the Greeks, although not used by them to any extent until a late date. It was highly developed at Alexandria under the Ptolemies and came to Italy in the second century before our era. In this art the Romans quickly developed great skill and ingenuity. At times the artist aimed frankly at rivaling painting and to this end made use of bits of stone and other material of all colors, sometimes of such infinitesimal size that as many as sixty cubes are found within a space one centimeter square. By the employment of such small pieces and by the introduction of many colors a realistic effect was obtained. But the work demanded such a wealth of patience that spon-

NOTE ON TECHNICAL TERMS

taneity was practically excluded. The Christian mosaists used cubes of much larger size. Toward the end of the third century A.D. it was discovered that glass could be employed with great effect, and the range of color was thus made almost limitless. Now, by drawing the glass of various colors into long rods which were then cut into pieces of the proper length, the mosaist was supplied with a material which not only extended the coloristic possibilities of his work, but also gave a glimmering surface to the wall obtainable from no other material. Moreover, by coating the cubes with gold leaf and then covering this with a thin film of glass the artist had the means of endowing his backgrounds with a splendor never before possible.

MINIATURE PAINTING is the illustration of books, usually of religious character, with pictures executed in water color upon parchment. When gold leaf is used, it is applied, as a rule, to a base of *gesso* which prevents it from flaking.

HISTORICAL DIAGRAM

	Roman	Sieneſe	Umbrian
Early Chriſtian (1ſt - 1Vth Cents)	Fading Graeco-Roman Influences at the cloſe of the Vth cent. Mosaics Leopardus and Dicius.		
Byzantine (IVth - VIth Cents)	In ſome places this ſtyle lingers on late into the twelfth century.	Guido da Siena (fl. middle of the XIIIth cent. infl. by northern art.)	Florentine Sieneſe and Gothic influences at the cloſe of the XIVth cent.
Mediaeval (VIIth - XIIIth Cents)	Northern (Carolingian) influence appears in the middle of the IXth century. It reappears (Ottonian) at the end of the XIth century.	Duccio di Buoninſegna (1260-1291) Simone Martini (1284-1344) Pietro Lorenzetti (1290-1368) A. Lorenzetti (fl. 1344)	Oderiſio of Gubbio (fl. ſecond half of the XIIIth cent.)
1300			
Gothic Trecento (1300-1400)	Cavallini (1250-1326)		Guido Palmerucci: Gubbio (fl. firſt half of the XIVth cent.) Allegretto Nuzi: of Fabriano (1346-1374) Gentile da Fabriano (1379-1427)
1400			Ottaviano Nelli: Gubbio (1565-1450).
Early Renaiſſance Quattrocento. (1400-1500)			Benedetto Bonfigli: Perugian (1420-1496: infl. by Gozzoli and) Matteo di Giovanni Niccolò Alunno (foligno: 1430-1502) (infl. by B. Gozzoli) Firenze di Lorenza (1440-1485: Perugian) later infl. by Perugina. Perugina: Perugian (1446-1524) Pietro Riccio: Perugian (1459-1515)
1500			
High Renaiſſance (1500-1600)			
1600			
Late Renaiſſance Baroque 1700 XVIIth and firſt half of XVIIIth cents.			
1800			

OF ARTISTS



LIST OF ARTISTS AND IMPORTANT WORKS

- FRA ANGELICO.—Collection of his works in the Convent of S. Marco, Florence; frescoes in the Chapel of Nicholas V. Vatican, Rome.
- ANTONIO DA NEGROPONTE.—“Madonna and Child,” S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice.
- ANTONIO VENEZIANO.—Parts of the vaulting of the Spanish Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence; later frescoes in the Life of S. Ranieri, Campo Santo, Pisa.
- FRA BARTOLOMMEO.—“Holy Family,” “Deposition,” Pitti Gallery, Florence; “Madonna and Child with Saints,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
- BASAITI, MARCO.—“Christ in the Garden,” “Calling of the First Apostles,” Academy, Venice; “Calling of the First Apostles,” Vienna; “Dead Christ,” Academy, Venice.
- BASTIANI, LAZZARO.—“The Doge Mocenigo Adoring the Virgin,” National Gallery, London; “Saint Anthony of Padua,” “Episodes from the Life of S. Jerome,” “S. Veneranda,” Academy, Venice.
- BELLINI, GENTILE.—“Lorenzo Giustiniani,” “Procession of the Cross” and “Rescue of the Fragment of the Cross,” Academy, Venice; the organ shutters of S. Marco, Venice; “Doge Mocenigo,” Museo Civico, Venice; “Mahomet II” and “Adoration of the Magi,” Layard Collection, Venice; “Madonna with Donors,” Berlin.
- BELLINI, GIOVANNI.—“Christian Allegory,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence; the “Allegories,” “Madonna of S. Giobbe,” “Madonna with SS. George and Paul,” Academy, Venice; “Crucifixion” and “Transfiguration,” Correr Museum

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- (Museo Civico), Venice; "Madonna and Saints," Church of the Frari, Venice; "Madonna and Child with Saints," S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice; "Agony in the Garden" and "Doge Loredano," National Gallery, London; "Transfiguration," Naples.
- BELLINI, JACOPO.—"Madonna and Child," Academy, Venice; "Madonna and Child," Uffizi Gallery, Florence; sketch-book, British Museum, London; sketchbook, Louvre, Paris; "Madonna and Child," Tadini Gallery, Lovere.
- BISSOLO, PIER FRANCESCO.—"Madonna and Saints," S. Andrea, Treviso; "Circumcision," Verona; "Presentation in the Temple" and "Crowning of S. Catherine," Academy, Venice.
- BONAIUTI, ANDREA.—Frescoes in the Spanish Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence; parts of the S. Ranieri series in the Campo Santo, Pisa.
- BONFIGLI, BENEDETTO.—Lives of SS. Louis and Ercolano, Palazzo Pubblico, Perugia.
- BORDONE, PARIS.—"Doge and Fisherman," Academy, Venice.
- BOTTICELLI, SANDRO.—"Athena and the Centaur," Pitti Gallery, Florence; "Birth of Venus," "Calumny," "Coronation of the Virgin," "Primavera," "Adoration of the Magi" and "Madonna of the Magnificat," Uffizi Gallery, Florence; frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, Rome; "Adoration of the Magi" and "Nativity," National Gallery, London; frescoes from the Villa Lemmi, Louvre, Paris.
- CANALETTO (Giovanni Antonio da Canale).—"Ducal Palace" and "Rialto," Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
- CARPACCIO, VITTORE.—"Presentation in the Temple" and the Ursula series, Academy, Venice; Lives of SS. George and Jerome, Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice.
- CASTAGNO, ANDREA DEL.—Equestrian portrait of Niccolò da Tolentino, Duomo, Florence; "Last Supper" and individual figures, Sta. Apollonia, Florence.

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- CATENA, VINCENZO.—“Madonna and Child with SS. John and Jerome” (?), Academy, Venice; “Madonna and Child with Saints,” Berlin.
- CAVALLINI, PIETRO.—“Last Judgment,” Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome; Life of the Virgin (mosaic), Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Rome.
- CIMA DA CONEGLIANO.—“Baptism of Christ,” S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice; “Glory of John the Baptist,” Sta. Maria dell’Orto, Venice; “Madonna and Child with SS. John and Paul” (?) and “Tobias and the Angel,” Academy, Venice.
- CIMABUE.—“Madonna and Child with S. Francis,” Lower Church, Assisi; “Crucifixion,” Upper Church, Assisi; “Madonna and Child” (C.?), Uffizi Gallery, Florence; mosaic in the apse of the cathedral, Pisa.
- CRIVELLI, CARLO.—“Madonna and Child,” Ancona; “Pietà,” Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; “S. George and the Dragon,” Gardner Collection, Boston; “S. James,” Bab-bott Collection, Brooklyn, N. Y.; polyptych from Ascoli, National Gallery, London; “Madonna and Child,” Lateran Gallery, Rome.
- DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA.—“Majesty,” Opera del Duomo, Siena; “Rucellai Madonna,” Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.
- FIORENZO DI LORENZO.—“Miracles of S. Bernardino,” Communal Gallery, Perugia; “S. Anthony of Padua,” Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.
- FRANCESCA, PIERO DELLA.—“History of the True Cross,” S. Francesco, Arezzo; “Resurrection,” Municipio, Borgo S. Sepolcro; “Duke and Duchess of Urbino,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence; “Baptism of Christ,” National Gallery, London.
- GADDI, TADDEO.—Life of the Virgin, Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence; “Coronation of the Virgin,” Berlin.
- GENTILE DA FABRIANO.—“Adoration of the Magi” and four saints (Quaratesi altarpiece), Uffizi Gallery, Florence;

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"Madonna and Child" (Quaratesi altarpiece), Buckingham Palace, London; "Madonna and Child," Cathedral, Orvieto; "Madonna and Child," Jarves Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

GHIRLANDAIO, DOMENICO.—"Adoration of the Magi," Uffizi Gallery, Florence; frescoes in the Sassetti Chapel, Sta. Trinita, Florence; frescoes in the choir of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence; Sta. Fina series, Collegiate Church, San Gimignano; "Old Man and Boy," Louvre, Paris.

GIAMBONO, MICHELE.—S. James and four other saints and "Coronation of the Virgin," Academy, Venice; mosaics in the Mascoli Chapel, S. Marco, Venice.

GIORGIONE.—"Trial of Moses," "Judgment of Solomon" and "Knight of Malta," Uffizi Gallery, Florence; "Concert" (Titian?), Pitti Gallery, Florence; "Madonna," Castelfranco; "Gypsy Family," Giovanelli Palace, Venice; "Venus," Dresden; "Shepherd Boy," Hampton Court, London; "Pastoral Symphony," Louvre, Paris; "Chaldean Sages," Vienna.

GIOTTO.—St. Francis series, Assisi; St. Francis series, Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence; Life of St. John the Evangelist, Peruzzi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence; frescoes, Arena Chapel, Padua; "Pope Boniface," St. John of the Lateran, Rome.

GIOVANNI ALEMANUS.—"Madonna and Saints" (see Vivarini), Academy, Venice.

GOZZOLI, BENOZZO.—"Adoration of the Magi," Riccardi Palace, Florence; Life of St. Francis, Montefalco; Life of St. Augustine, Church of St. Augustine, San Gimignano.

GUARDI, FRANCESCO.—"Sta. Maria della Salute," Academy, Venice; "Canale di Brenta," Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

GUARIENTO.—"Heavenly Choir," Padua; "Paradise," Ducal Palace, Venice.

GUIDO DA SIENA.—"Madonna and Child," Academy, Siena.

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- JACOBELLO DEL FIORE.—“Justice” and “Paradise,” Academy, Venice; “Lion of St. Mark,” Ducal Palace, Venice; “S. Crisogono,” S. Trovaso, Venice; “Coronation of the Virgin,” Academy, Venice.
- JACOPO DE’ BARBARI.—“Falcon,” Layard Collection, Venice; “Portrait of a Young Man,” Vienna.
- LEONARDO DA VINCI.—Part of the “Baptism of Christ,” “Annunciation,” “Adoration of the Magi,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence; “Madonna of the Rocks,” Louvre, Paris; “Madonna of the Rocks,” National Gallery, London; “Last Supper,” Refectory of Sta. Maria delle Grazie, Milan; “Mona Lisa” and “Virgin and St. Anne,” Louvre, Paris; “St. Jerome,” Vatican, Rome.
- LIPPI, FILIPPINO.—“Vision of St. Bernard,” Badia, Florence; “Paul Addressing Peter,” Brancacci Chapel, Carmine, Florence; Lives of John the Evangelist and Philip, Strozzi Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence; frescoes, Caraffa Chapel, Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.
- LIPPI, FILIPPO.—“Nativity,” Berlin; “Coronation of the Virgin,” “Madonna and Child,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence; “Madonna and Child,” Pitti Gallery, Florence; Lives of SS. John and Stephen, Cathedral, Prato; frescoes, Cathedral, Spoleto.
- LONGHI, PIETRO.—“Man Reading by Candlelight,” “Tailor’s Visit” and “Concert,” Academy, Venice.
- LORENZETTI, AMBROGIO.—“Good and Bad Government,” Palazzo Pubblico, Siena; “Presentation in the Temple,” “Story of St. Nicholas of Bari,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
- LORENZETTI, PIETRO.—“Madonna and Child with St. Francis,” Lower Church, Assisi.
- LOTTO, LORENZO.—“Portrait of an Old Man,” Milan; “Madonna and Saints,” Sta. Cristina, Treviso.
- LORENZO MONACO.—“Coronation of the Virgin” and “Adoration of the Magi,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

LIST OF ARTISTS AND IMPORTANT WORKS

- LORENZO VENEZIANO.—“Annunciation,” Academy, Venice.
- MANSUETI.—“Miracle of the Cross,” “Sebastian and Four Other Saints,” Academy, Venice.
- MANTEGNA, ANDREA.—“Adoration of the Magi” and “Madonna of the Quarry,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence; frescoes in the Camera degli Sposi, Mantua; “St. Luke,” Milan; frescoes in the Eremitani Chapel, Padua.
- MARTINI, SIMONE.—St. Martin series, Lower Church, Assisi; “Annunciation” (also Lippo Memmi), Uffizi Gallery, Florence; “Majesty” and “Portrait of Guidoriccio,” Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.
- MASACCIO.—“Madonna and St. Anne,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence; “Crucifixion,” Sta. Maria Novella, Florence; frescoes, Brancacci Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.
- MASOLINA DA PANICALE.—Life of the Virgin, Collegiate Church, Castiglione d’Olona; Life of the Baptist, Baptistery, Castiglione d’Olona; frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, Carmine, Florence; frescoes in S. Clemente, Rome.
- MELOZZO DA FORLÌ.—“Pesta-Pepe,” Gallery, Forlì; “Pope Sixtus,” Vatican, Rome; “Musical Angels,” Inner Sacristy, St. Peter’s, Rome.
- MEZZASTRIS, PIER ANTONIO.—“Mary and Angels,” Municipal Gallery, Foligno.
- MICHELANGELO.—“Holy Family,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence; drawings, House of Michelangelo, Florence; frescoes, Sistine Chapel, Rome; Cappella Paolina, frescoes, Rome; “Deposition,” London.
- NELLI, OTTAVIANO.—Life of St. Augustine, Choir of S. Agostino, Gubbio; “Madonna,” S. Maria Nuova, Gubbio; Life of the Virgin, Trinci (now Municipal) Palace, Foligno.
- NICCOLÒ ALUNNO.—“Coronation,” S. Niccolò, Foligno.
- NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO.—“Virgin and Child,” Academy, Venice.
- NUZI, ALLEGRETTO.—“Madonna and Saints,” Vatican, Rome.

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- ORCAGNA, ANDREA.—“Paradise,” “Last Judgment,” and altarpiece, Strozzi Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.
- PALMA VECCHIO.—“Venus” and “Meeting of Jacob and Rachel,” Dresden; “Adoration of the Shepherds,” Naples; “Santa Conversazione,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
- PAOLO DA VENEZIA.—Life of St. Mark on the back of the Pala d'Oro, Treasury of S. Marco, Venice; “Death of the Virgin,” Vicenza.
- PERUGINO, PIETRO.—“Assumption of the Virgin,” “Francesco dell'Opera” and “Deposition,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence; “Crucifixion,” Sta. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi Refectory, Florence; Cambio frescoes, Perugia; “Giving of the Keys,” Sistine Chapel, Rome; “Pietà,” Villa Albani, Rome.
- PIAZZETTA.—“Glory of St. Domenic,” Chapel of St. Domenic, Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice; “Fortune Teller,” Academy, Venice; “Portrait of an Old Soldier,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
- PINTORICCHIO.—Life of S. Bernardino, Bufalini Chapel, Ara Coeli, Rome; Borghese Apartment frescoes, Vatican, Rome; frescoes in the Piccolomini Library, Siena.
- POLLAIUOLO, ANTONIO.—“Hercules” and “Portrait of a Lady,” Uffizi Gallery, Florence; “Dancing Figures,” Torre del Gallo, Florence; “David,” Berlin; “Hercules and Nessus,” Jarves Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; embroideries made from his drawings, Opera del Duomo, Florence; “St. Christopher,” Metropolitan Museum, New York.
- PORDENONE.—“Madonna of Mercy,” Cathedral, Pordenone; “Adoration of the Magi,” Cathedral, Treviso; “S. Lorenzo Giustiniano,” Academy, Venice.
- RAPHAEL.—“Sistine Madonna,” Dresden; “Angelo Doni,” “Maddalena Doni,” “Madonna del Gran Duca,” “Julius II,” “Donna Velata,” Pitti Gallery, Florence; cartoons for

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the Sistine Chapel tapestries, South Kensington Museum, London; "La Belle Jardinière," "Baldasare Castiglione," Louvre, Paris; "Fornarina," Barberini Collection, Rome; Stanze frescoes and "Transfiguration," Vatican, Rome.

SARTO, ANDREA DEL.—Frescoes, Sta. Annunziata, Florence; "Last Supper," S. Salvi, Florence; "Madonna of the Harpies," Uffizi Gallery, Florence; "Annunciation," Pitti Gallery, Florence.

SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO.—"Fornarina," Uffizi Gallery, Florence; "Raising of Lazarus," National Gallery, London; "Glory of S. Giovanni Crisostomo," S. Giovanni Crisostomo, Venice.

SEMITECOLO.—"Coronation of the Virgin" (also attributed to Caterino and Donato), Querini-Stampalia Collection, Venice; six panels representing the Trinity, Mary, and scenes from the life of St. Sebastian, Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua.

SIGNORELLI, LUCA.—"Crucifixion," Uffizi Gallery, Florence; "Pan," Berlin; "Deposition," Umbertide; "Circumcision," London; frescoes, Holy House, Loreto; "Scourging of Christ," Milan; Life of St. Benedict, Monte Olivetto; San Brizio Chapel frescoes, Cathedral, Orvieto.

TIEPOLO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA.—Frescoes in the Labia Palace, Venice; "Glory of St. Domenic," Gesuati, Venice.

TINTORETTO (JACOPO ROBUSTI).—"Jacopo Sansavino," Uffizi Gallery, Florence; "Transporting of the Body of St. Mark," "Adam and Eve," "Rescue of the Shipwrecked Christian," "Miracle of the Rescued Slave," Academy, Venice; "Marriage at Cana," Sta. Maria della Salute, Venice; "Golden Calf," Sta. Maria dell' Orto, Venice; "Last Judgment," choir of Sta. Maria dell' Orto, Venice; "Presentation," Morogini Chapel, Sta. Maria dell' Orto, Venice.

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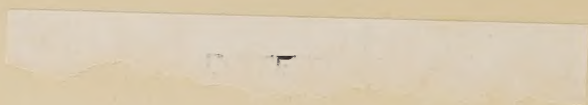
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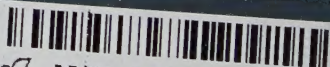


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